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The WORLD PEACE COUNCIL



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**A Soviet-Sponsored International
Communist Front**

DOCUMENT NO. 001
NO CHANGE IN CLASS. 1
☐ DECLASSIFIED
CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S C 1990
NEXT REVIEW DATE: 1990
AUTH: HR 709
DATE: 1/24/80 REVIEWER: 061169

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THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

A Soviet-Sponsored International Communist Front

In the decades since World War II, Soviet propaganda has gradually pre-empted a number of common words with inherent positive values and manipulated them into a dichotomy of meaning. "Peace" is a word that has particularly suffered in this regard. Both because of its positive meaning and value to the West and because it cuts across so many class and professional lines with ease, it has been extensively used by the Soviets as a clarion call to action.

December 1971

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I

ORIGIN, AIMS, AND METHODOLOGY

The World Peace Council is potentially the most important and the most comprehensive of the Communist front organizations established under the aegis of the USSR in the post-World War II period. Its inception stems from a meeting in Wroclaw, Poland, in August 1948 called the "World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace" that was held to organize groups to carry on a "fight for peace." At this meeting an organization called the "International Liaison Committee of Intellectuals" was set up, and this committee convened a "First World Peace Congress" in April 1949 in Paris. The congress launched a "World Committee of Partisans of Peace," which in November 1950 was renamed the "World Peace Council." In the mid-1950's the organization changed its name to "World Council of Peace," but in January 1971, with no public explanation, the name reverted to "World Peace Council." The organization will be called "World Peace Council" (WPC) throughout this paper.

Although the Soviets deny sponsorship of the WPC, the genesis of the organization clearly stems from international policies adopted earlier by the Soviet leaders and spelled out for Communists abroad either directly or through the Comintern. The Comintern publication, International Press Correspondence (Inprecor) is a primary source for the study of the pre-World War II fronts sponsored through the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). It is especially informative since the Communists were inclined in that early period to be more outspoken about their true objectives than they have been in later years.

The idea of exploiting the sentiment for peace, which stressed the employment of front organizations, was developed several years before the WPC was actually established. Communists were told that they

"must penetrate among the pacific masses, and carry out a big work of enlightenment among them using forms of organization and action that are adapted to the level of consciousness of these masses and that

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give them the possibility of taking the first step in the effective struggle against war and capitalism. We must always take two things into account. The first is that the organization of pacifist masses cannot and must not be a Communist organization; the second is that, in working in this organization, Communists must never give up explaining with the greatest patience and insistence their own point of view on all the problems of the struggle against war." (Inprecor, 1 October 1935)

These concepts that were enunciated in 1935 were applied to the WPC when it was formed in the late 1940's and are still followed faithfully into the 1970's.

The WPC was organized, it should be noted, shortly after the formation in September 1947 of the Cominform, the battlecry of which was "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!" In November 1949 the Cominform issued a resolution that, though not specifically naming the WPC, clearly directed Communist parties around the world to join the "peace movement" the WPC had launched. The Cominform directive stated: "The struggle for a stable and lasting peace, for the organization and consolidation of the forces of peace against the forces of war, should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist parties and democratic (meaning 'front') organizations."

There is every reason to believe that, as was the case in the Soviet-instigated peace agitation just prior to World War II, the special task of the WPC set forth here was defensive; it was first to obstruct, disrupt, and/or discredit as far as possible the anti-Communist unity that had begun to develop internationally in the wake of the Kremlin's moves to consolidate its hold on East Europe. The WPC's principal area of activity was to be in Western Europe. In Asia and Latin America, where it also established itself promptly, its key activists initially sought to exploit and strengthen anticolonial sentiment among professionals and intellectuals in an effort to broaden the WPC's following and gain support for Soviet views.

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The WPC's first home was Paris, but it was expelled by the French Government in 1951. It then moved to Prague, and in 1954 it moved to Vienna under the protection of the Soviet occupation forces and to the great annoyance of the Austrian Government, whose permission had neither been sought nor given. The Minister of the Interior of the Austrian Government protested strongly and added: "A sharp watch will be kept on the WPC, for it has nothing to do with peace. Vienna is becoming more and more firmly established as the headquarters of the Cominform organizations plotting to undermine the free West."

When the occupation forces withdrew and Austria regained independence, the WPC was allowed to remain on condition it observed Austrian laws. In February 1957 it was expelled from Austria because it "interfered with the internal affairs of countries with which Austria has good and friendly relations" and its activities were "directed against the interest of the Austrian State." However, the WPC managed to continue operations at the same address in Vienna by adopting the cover of a new organization ostensibly devoted to scholarly research of peace questions, the "International Institute for Peace" (IIP). The IIP has been able to remain in Vienna by being less blatantly propagandistic in its own activities, yet it was able to function on behalf of the WPC in communicating with WPC members and national committees, while the WPC was searching for a new haven for its permanent headquarters, by the simple ruse of saying in its letters "The WPC has asked us to forward to you..." or somewhat similar statements. Since its establishment, leading IIP staff members have been, at the same time, members of the Secretariat and functionaries of the WPC. The legal headquarters of the WPC disappeared, though it would occasionally make a pro forma appearance on letterheads from different European cities.

In September 1968 the WPC officially established its headquarters in Helsinki, Finland. The 11-year search for a permanent headquarters following its expulsion from Vienna was not an easy one, since many countries were--and still are--openly hostile to the idea of accommodating the WPC. The move of the WPC to Helsinki freed the organization from the restrictions set forth by the Austrian Government, but it has created other problems. The move has proved costly, and it has been unpopular with a number of the permanent staff members who find living in Helsinki expensive and less

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congenial. Furthermore, the WPC has encountered a number of difficulties in getting its publications translated, printed, and distributed from Finland.

According to the regulations of the WPC, the leading bodies of the organization are (1) the Council itself--the "supreme body of the movement, the highest authority--on the basis of whose decisions and resolutions the other bodies carry out their work"; (2) the Presidential Committee; and (3) the Secretariat. The Council is composed of representatives of national peace committees and also of national, regional, and international organizations and movements agreeing with WPC aims and principles. In addition, individuals not affiliated with any "peace" movements or organizations may join, although in recent years, aside from seeking to attract a few "big names" as showcase members, the WPC appears to have a greater interest in totting up the number of national peace committees and international groups it has attracted than in stressing individual membership as such.

The Presidential Committee constitutes the leadership of the movement between sessions of the WPC. It is elected by the Council and normally meets twice a year, although it can meet more frequently if necessary. In May 1971 the Presidential Committee was enlarged by 13 members to 59, while the WPC membership was increased from about 500 to 700. The Secretariat is the executive body of the Presidential Committee, elected by the Committee and responsible for carrying out and implementing its decisions and initiating further activities in accordance with general directives and decisions of the Presidential Committee. There are 14 members of the Secretariat.

The Presidential Committee was set up in 1959 when, following the death of WPC President Frederic Joliot-Curie in 1958, the movement was unable or unwilling to select a successor to the post of president. The Committee then elected from among its members a coordinating chairman and a secretary general. Professor J. D. Bernal (British) was the first chairman; he resigned in 1965 due to ill health, and he died in the summer of 1971. Isabelle Blume (Belgium) was elected coordinating chairman in 1965, but since 1970 she has become less active in the day-to-day affairs of the organization and the post of chairman has been abolished. The first non-European to

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become a leader of the organization, Romesh Chandra (India), a longtime member of the Indian Communist Party and a member of the Party's Central Committee, was elected secretary general of the Presidential Committee in 1966 and has remained in the post since that time. As secretary general he also presides over the Secretariat. He is at present, to all intents and purposes, the most prominent individual within the WPC. He is also the driving force behind the recent broadening of the WPC's base to include a large number of non-Communist organizations as participants in joint activities, if not as outright WPC members.

Principles and Aims of the WPC

The principles and aims of the movement were reaffirmed at the "World Peace Assembly" held in Budapest in mid-May 1971: prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction and ending of the arms drive; abolition of foreign military bases; general, simultaneous, and controlled disarmament; elimination of all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination; respect for the right of the peoples to sovereignty and independence; respect for the territorial integrity of states; non-interference in the internal affairs of nations; peaceful coexistence; replacement of the policy of force by that of negotiations for the settlement of differences between nations.

In fact, these precepts express a new Soviet-formulated consensus reached after ten years of problems, internal dissent, and confusion within the Communist "peace" movement--problems that arose initially after the 1957 conference of Communist parties, when a renewal of the aggressive drive for power of international Communism, directed primarily at the underdeveloped nations, was launched. For its work in the advanced countries, the peace movement is able to concentrate on mobilizing sentiment in favor of disarmament and detente and generating sympathy for the specific formulas and proposals of these topics put forward by the USSR. Its objective is, essentially, to generate political pressure at the national level to oblige non-Communist governments to support or, at a minimum, to acquiesce before Soviet demands and preconditions.

In the underdeveloped areas of the world, the peace movement now is to serve the USSR by working for local acceptance of Soviet formulas for resolving international

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conflicts. It can also help the expansion of Soviet influence by "proving" the continuing Soviet commitment to anti-imperialist solidarity with local regimes. It can thus work against both local anti-Communist forces and the efforts of the Chinese and their allies to discredit and supplant Soviet influence in the underdeveloped world.

In application, these principles and aims have resulted in the WPC wholeheartedly defending the policies of the Soviet Union and attacking those of the Western powers or other countries whose policies are out of step with those of the USSR. The WPC never fails to denounce Western "colonialism," yet Soviet colonialism is never mentioned; nuclear weapons tests by the West are always condemned, while those carried out by the Soviet Union either are ignored or lightly "regretted" and justified on the grounds that they are necessary to counter threats posed by the West; military maneuvers by Western countries or by NATO forces are described as "warmongering," while similar activities by the Soviet Union and Bloc countries are labeled "peacekeeping"; the WPC demands withdrawal of United States naval forces from the Mediterranean, but makes no mention of Soviet naval forces there; and so on.

The main tactical problem of the WPC during the past ten years arose from a fundamental dilemma: Should the "struggle for peace" concentrate primarily on exploiting fear of war and general pacifist sentiment; or should it be more "positive," and direct its efforts primarily at exploiting those, both in the advanced and underdeveloped countries, who are opposed to their existing governments and are willing to work to overthrow or change them drastically?

For a number of years the Soviets made an effort to avoid this dilemma by supporting, alongside the peace movement, a parallel organization--the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO)--which could, in coordination with the WPC, carry much of the burden of the aggressive, "positive" campaign to mobilize national liberation forces in support of Communist peace struggle initiatives. This effort, so far, has produced only modest successes, both because of Chinese resistance and of the Soviets' inability to control other key elements (e.g., Indonesia, Algeria, the UAR) with which they were working in the Peoples Solidarity program.

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It is possible that, as far as the peace struggle strategy of the USSR is concerned, the unexplained name change of the WPC between the mid-1950's and 1971 reflects a desire to create the image of a universal organization concerned with certain specific "peace" issues, in contrast with an organization generally concerned with "world peace." The reversion to the original title did, in fact, take place at a time when the CPSU, in preparing for its 24th Congress, had made clear its desire to pursue its objectives throughout the world primarily through subversion and political struggle rather than through armed struggle.

In spite of its attempts to ensnare genuine pacifists, neither the WPC nor its Communist leaders have ever had anything but contempt for real pacifism. The Hungarian paper Magyar Nemzet in an editorial on 16 July 1952 headed "Pacifism cannot be tolerated within the Peace Movement" put the position clearly: "The Soviet Union is the most significant power for peace, which is only denied by the warmongers. We cannot tolerate within the Peace Movement any symptoms of detrimental pacifism.... The military strength of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is an important factor in the defense of peace."

Principal Activities of the WPC

The principal activity of the WPC has been to organize worldwide propaganda campaigns, coordinated on a regional basis by national peace committees and often involving the mass collection of signatures to support appeals. In addition, regional and national campaigns are launched or cosponsored by individual peace committees. In recent years, the WPC has made extensive use of a device that has been quite effective in stimulating support for its goals at the grass roots level, particularly in the underdeveloped areas--the sending of small delegations of top-level WPC activists from the WPC Headquarters in Helsinki to various locations around the world. The visits of the delegations serve to lend prestige to the activities of the national peace committees and also ensure that the Soviet-inspired "line" that the WPC propagates gets instilled at the grass roots level.

The WPC has organized nine large-scale "peace congresses" since its inception: the First World Peace Congress (Paris and Prague, April 1949); the Second World Peace Congress (Warsaw, November 1950); the Congress of the

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Peoples for Peace (Vienna, December 1952); the World Peace Assembly (Helsinki, June 1955); the Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation (Stockholm, July 1958); the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace (Moscow, July 1962); the World Congress for Peace, National Independence, and Disarmament (Helsinki, July 1965); the World Assembly of Peace Forces (East Berlin, June 1969); and the World Peace Assembly (Budapest, May 1971).

The world peace congresses are stage-managed affairs not intended to allow the delegates to discuss the problems with which the organizations are supposedly concerned. Rather, they are forums for propaganda and political warfare, and recruiting grounds for the Communist fronts. By designating these affairs world conferences or congresses, the WPC seeks to focus the maximum amount of attention on them and to create the impression that the attendance is truly worldwide. The sheer numbers and national diversity of those repetitiously speaking out for peace can be impressive, at least to the less sophisticated delegates, as a display of Soviet ascendancy in the world Communist movement. Thus, at the congresses, the illusion is one of bustling activity, an international atmosphere, and earnest representatives from countries around the world.

The periodic collection of signatures on a world-wide basis, featuring "appeals" for peace couched in simple language designed to win support for Communist objectives, has been one of the more significant propaganda techniques of the WPC, although it has been used to a lesser degree in recent years. The first and most spectacular of the signature collection campaigns was the Stockholm Appeal, which was issued at a WPC meeting in Stockholm in March 1950. It demanded the banning of atomic weapons, (but did not mention other forms of warfare). The Stockholm Appeal, circulated in all parts of the world, was widely supported by persons who believed it to be a genuine peace petition. It was circulated during the time when the invasion of the Republic of Korea by Soviet-trained and equipped North Korean forces was in the planning stage. The Appeal was still being circulated in North Korea when the North Koreans began the invasion of South Korea in June 1950.

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The second signature collection campaign was the Warsaw Appeal, which was launched from Warsaw in November 1950 calling for the immediate convening of a Five-Power Conference to settle current problems, including the Korean War. Though 600 million signatures were claimed, most of them came from Iron Curtain countries.

The most notorious, and ultimately the most discredited, of the signature collection campaigns was launched by the WPC at a meeting in Oslo, Norway, in March 1952--the "germ warfare" campaign. Aided by such other Moscow-directed Communist fronts as the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Women's International Democratic Federation, and the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the WPC flooded the world with the grave accusation that the Americans in Korea had been making use of bacteriological warfare against the North Koreans. No independent confirmation of these charges was ever produced, and no impartial examination of "evidence" was ever allowed. In the end the charges were exposed as a gigantic hoax. One amusing sidelight of the hoax was the story told by a returning American prisoner of war who, when confronted by his captors with the "evidence" of a dead (and "highly contaminated") grasshopper, allegedly killed during a "germ warfare" barrage by American troops, simply popped the grasshopper in his mouth and ate it.

Through its varied program of activities the WPC has served as a coordinating body for the long-range "peace" offensives that the Soviet Union has conducted during the past 20 years. The mission of the WPC appears to be to serve as a kind of super front for sponsoring peace congresses and other world meetings in which the themes of peace, easing of world tensions, and disarmament--all themes that hold a universal appeal--can be used to advance Soviet foreign policy aims.

One major project undertaken by the peace movement as far back as 1951 merits note, if only because it has little apparent relationship to the conventional antimilitary or anti-imperialist issues usually dealt with. This project was aimed at expanding Soviet economic spheres of influence. It was keyed to the World Economic Conference organized in Moscow in 1951, and represented the last major initiative of the world peace movement during the Stalin era. The project, "positive" in its appeals, developed through the creation in many

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countries of "Committees on the Promotion of International Trade." In virtually every instance these committees were created around a group of activists whose previous efforts had been centered in the peace committees. In spite of subsequent vigorous efforts by the USSR to exploit these committees to promote trade between the underdeveloped world and the Soviet Bloc, the attention of the peace movement shifted to other topics soon thereafter, and the campaign lost much of its momentum. It cannot be excluded, however, that renewed initiatives along these lines will be taken by the Soviets in the future.

The WPC, then, along with the other Communist fronts, has played a large part in conditioning public opinion in many parts of the world to accept Soviet foreign policy statements at face value. When Soviet disarmament proposals call for such measures as immediate action on establishing nuclear-free areas and on renouncing the employment of nuclear weapons, Communist fronts create such a clamor about "peace" and "disarmament" that such proposals are rarely subjected to dispassionate scrutiny in the mass media of the non-Communist world.

In sum, the main thrust of all the WPC activities is support for Soviet foreign policy objectives and attacks on forces obstructing their attainment. The United States is inevitably the chief whipping boy, with secondary targets being NATO, the German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, South Africa, Nationalist China, Israel, and sometimes Greece and a few other countries thrown in for good measure. The choice of the nation assailed depends on the current situation in world politics.

The WPC does not expect too much in the way of immediate results from its constant flurry of worldwide activity. Instead--and this reflects the typical Marxist-Leninist view--the organization hopes for long-term results. The world conferences are held only about every three or four years. In between, continuing propaganda can be fabricated from the reports and resolutions of the preceding conference, while local and regional meetings bring the activity down to the grass-roots level.

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In spite of the fact that the WPC labels all its activities as being undertaken in the cause of "peace," few genuine pacifists have been deceived by the organization or its pronouncements. For those who confuse the Communist-run "Peace Movement" with pacifism, however, the Soviet Ministry of Defense issued a pamphlet in March 1954 containing a clarification of the Soviet usage of the term that is as appropriate and timely today as it was then:

"Whilst carrying on a struggle for peace, Communists are not, however, pacifists who sign for peace and limit themselves to propaganda for peace. They consider that in order to remove the inevitability of wars it is necessary to destroy imperialism. Communists link the cause of peace with the cause of the victory of the proletarian revolution, considering that the surest means of doing away with wars and establishing permanent, just peace is the overthrow of the power of the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

"The bourgeois-pacifist attitude towards war, which stresses the 'horrors' of war and inculcates hatred of all wars is alien to us. Communists are against imperialistic wars as being counter-revolutionary wars, but they are in favor of liberating, anti-imperialist, revolutionary wars."

("The Militarization of the Countries of the North Atlantic Bloc," by V. Cheprakov)

Though in subsequent years the CPSU under Nikita Khrushchev made it clear that it infinitely preferred to achieve its aims without war and that it is un- willing to accept consciously the risk of general war, it still remains committed in principle to the idea that some local wars are "just wars" and merit Communist material as well as moral support. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the case of Vietnam.

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II

MAJOR CAMPAIGNS IN RECENT YEARS

The WPC's major campaigns in recent years have followed a fairly predictable pattern: a multitude of worldwide and regional actions in support of North Vietnam and against "U.S. aggression"; support of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America for national independence; support for the Arabs and all-out opposition to the Israelis in the Middle East conflict; actions for "European security" and for disarmament. Much of the activity with respect to these campaigns has been repetitive from year to year, with all WPC-organized conferences issuing as standard fare "resolutions" on these and other topics that follow the Soviet propaganda line. The WPC generally attempts to bring other international Communist front organizations into these activities, and most of the other front organizations are represented in the membership of the WPC. Increasingly, the WPC attempts to utilize the cooperation of religious or related lay organizations and personalities as a mantle of respectability for their own anti-Vietnam and anti-NATO activities. This technique has been evident since the large World Conference on Vietnam held in Stockholm in July 1967, at which at least eight non-Communist organizations, several with religious overtones and European and international representation, were the ostensible sponsors. The conference was run by the secretary general of the WPC, the "silent partner" co-sponsor.

The Vietnam Issue

At the time the Vietnam conflict became a major international issue, the WPC was at a low ebb, its meetings disrupted when they became forums for pursuit of the Sino-Soviet dispute, its activities discredited in many circles for too obvious bias in favor of the Soviet Union. The Vietnam conflict gave the WPC a new lease on life. The WPC has sought from the beginning of that conflict to be in the vanguard in fusing the disparate groups that concerned themselves with achieving peace in Vietnam in an effort to make sure they all concentrated on propagating the Soviet-North Vietnamese line.

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By the mid-1960's the WPC's main propaganda theme had become "U.S. aggression in Vietnam," and an enormous amount of effort was devoted to whipping up anti-American sentiment over this issue. However, because the activists involved in the Vietnam issue are so disparate, the WPC has not been entirely successful in its aim of molding the groups into a unified force that could be counted on to espouse the Soviet cause.

The WPC has convened a large number of its meetings on Vietnam in Stockholm, which has held particular appeal because there is less difficulty in obtaining visas for delegates there than in other countries. Furthermore, as a neutral country, the propaganda value has been greater than for a meeting held in a Bloc country. The WPC Presidential Committee held a special meeting on Vietnam in April 1965 at which a resolution was unanimously adopted condemning the "criminal action of the U.S. forces" and calling on all democratic organizations fighting for peace to extend the "movement for the liberation of South Vietnam." In spite of the "unanimous" resolution, newspaper coverage of the meeting reported stormy quarrelling between the Soviet and Chinese delegations and also controversy between the two Vietnamese delegations over the wording of the resolution.

Early in 1967 a group of Swedish activists announced plans for a "World Conference on Vietnam" to be held in Stockholm in July. The initial promoters of the conference were a Swedish leftist, Bertil Svahnstrom, and the Communist-influenced Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS), a Swedish peace organization formed in the 1880's of which Svahnstrom is a leading member. The conference was to take place under the titular auspices of the SPAS, with a number of other international peace organizations participating. At the meeting of the WPC Presidential Committee held in Prague in late February of that year, considerable importance was attached to the Stockholm conference, and in March Romesh Chandra announced that Vietnam would be virtually the sole focus of attention for the WPC over the next few months. As time went on, it became evident that the WPC wanted to seize the initiative for the Stockholm conference from the non-aligned, leftist-pacifist sponsors and supporters.

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The Stockholm World Conference on Vietnam took place in July with seven officially-listed WPC delegates in attendance plus another 37 WPC members who were officially representing other organizations. The meeting was largely taken over by the WPC, with Chandra assuming a key role in organizational and publicity work for the ostensibly nonaligned conference. There was widespread dissatisfaction on the part of the nonaligned delegates over the manner in which the steering committee yielded to pressures from the WPC, since these delegates felt this would create the impression the conference was Communist-dominated.

In a letter broadcast by Moscow Radio shortly after the July Stockholm conference, Chandra wrote that it was "unanimously agreed" that the conference had been an overwhelming success, and that it had "opened new perspectives for the peace movement in the whole world" inasmuch as it showed that a meeting of different peace groups "has the power to exercise an influence on the large areas of opinion which have not until now entered into the movement." Chandra admitted in the same letter that "certain suspicions and hostilities prevented that coordination and unity of action among these inter-nationals" that had become "so vital and so necessary in the light of the continuous intensification of the aggressive activities of the United States and other governments."

By agreement of the delegates, the conference was constituted as a permanent body with a Continuing Committee, which in early 1968 was redesignated the International Liaison Committee (ILC) of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam. Svahnstrom was made the chairman of the ILC, and Romesh Chandra and Aleksandr Berkov, both of the WPC, were made members of the ILC.

In the years since 1968 the ILC/Stockholm Conference has proved to be a useful tool to the North Vietnamese in enabling them to establish and maintain direct contact with a large number of local antiwar groups, including Americans, from all sectors of the political-social spectrum. It has been effective also in propagating the North Vietnamese position on matters relating to the war in Vietnam, so the North Vietnamese are eager to keep the organization alive. But as the general public's interest in the Vietnam conflict wanes, the ILC/Stockholm Conference has begun to lose its effectiveness. It has been plagued with internal dissensions, with Chandra and Svahnstrom, in particular, often at odds over how to plan

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and handle meetings. Berkov, a Soviet citizen who is on the Secretariat of the WPC, appears to be the individual who supplies the major funds for the ILC (as well as for the WPC) and who thus has the deciding voice in how both the ILC and the Stockholm Conference are run. However, he actually seems to have little understanding of how international propaganda conferences should be organized or of how best to exploit the groups to Soviet advantage.

In spite of these problems, the ILC has continued to try to exploit the Vietnam issue, although with decreasing success. In late 1970, for example, a sixth "International Conference on Vietnam" was held in Stockholm. (Even though the fiction of independence from the WPC was maintained, WPC manipulation was evident and, in a letter to the national peace committees in June, the WPC said it was responsible for organizing the major part of the preparatory work for the sixth conference.) But by the time the sixth conference was concluded it was becoming generally apparent that the Vietnam issue was running out of steam. During the conference Svahnstrom spoke of the growing difficulty of rallying opposition to President Nixon's Vietnam policy in the United States and Europe. He complained that the Vietnam protest movement was weaker than it had been a few years previously, saying it was difficult to recruit people to demonstrate in the United States and elsewhere.

The most recent event staged by the ILC/Stockholm Conference was a "War Crimes Tribunal" ("Second Session of the International Commission of Enquiry into U.S. Crimes in Indochina") that was convened in Oslo in late June 1971. It turned into a fiasco when the Soviets sent as their chief representative to the tribunal the Soviet Supreme Court judge, Lev Smirnov, the man who sentenced Soviet authors Sinyavskiy and Daniel to long terms in forced labor camps. Smirnov's presence at the tribunal was heavily criticized in the newspapers to the almost total exclusion of other aspects of the tribunal.

The ILC has been trying for some time to convene an international labor union conference on Vietnam to rebuild some steam over the Vietnam issue, but so far its efforts have met with little success. At the insistence of the North Vietnamese, the ILC is going ahead with plans to organize a new large meeting on Vietnam, to be held some time early in 1972, possibly in Paris, since the people in Stockholm are exhibiting increased boredom with such meetings.

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For a number of years an item high on the Soviet's list of priorities in the realm of international politics has been the convening of a Conference on European Security (CES) at the governmental level. "Security" is a goal all European states want--indeed, the whole world wants it. But "security" for whom? What the Soviets want to achieve through such a conference is acceptance of the status quo in Europe, (meaning, in particular, the maintenance of Soviet hegemony over East Europe), the dissolution of NATO, the removal of the United States presence in Europe, and the envelopment of West Germany within the Soviet economic and political sphere--all of which would provide excellent security for the USSR, but for no other country. As soon as the Kremlin took up the call for a CES, the item appeared on the agenda of the WPC, and it has stayed there ever since. The tactic that the WPC leadership pursues in attempting to promote the Soviet-backed CES at a governmental level is to try to generate grass-roots support for a non-governmental "Peoples' Conference on European Security." If the WPC is successful in whipping up enough enthusiasm to convene such a conference at the non-governmental level, the WPC leaders then hope the delegates to the conference could be persuaded to bring pressure to bear on their own governments to convene the government-level CES.

Since at least the mid-1960's, European security has been a top item on the WPC's agenda, second only to the Vietnam issue in priority. Almost without exception, large conferences that the WPC has sponsored in recent years have included among resolutions issued at the end of the conference an item on the need to convene a CES. In 1967 the WPC went all-out in an effort to organize a CES to precede the twentieth anniversary of the NATO treaty in 1969. At a late October 1967 meeting of the WPC Presidential Committee in Leningrad, Chandra said that the CES should be approached and organized in the "spirit of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam," adding that the conference of European peoples could be a "real platform" embracing the forces in Europe with the greatest influence--Socialists, Christians, Communists, trade unionists, pacifists--both organizations and individuals. However, the WPC's efforts to organize the peoples' conference failed because of difficulties in enlisting "respectable" non-Communist sponsorship.

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In 1968 the WPC continued its campaign to rally support for a CES. Typically, an editorial in the No. 2, 1968, issue of the WPC publication Perspectives stressed that the WPC supported the idea of a "broad conference of public opinion for security and cooperation in Europe."

The WPC staged a broad-based meeting in Brussels in mid-May 1968 to prepare the "first stages of a conference on European problems of security and cooperation" that would be convened in late 1968 or early 1969 in Vienna and would gather representatives from all the social, political, and intellectual forces of all the European countries. A resolution adopted at this meeting moved to convene another preparatory meeting at which personalities from all European countries would be invited to be present. Maurice Lambilliotte, director of the Belgian review Syntheses, was named to head the preparatory committee.

In early December, the second preparatory meeting "for the Conference on European Security and Cooperation to be held in Vienna in October 1969" was held in Vienna. Only 50 of the 100 people invited to this meeting attended. Only one Englishman out of eleven expected came, only one West German, none of the five Swiss, nor those from Denmark, Holland, Luxembourg, or Norway, and no representatives of the non-Communist international peace organizations.

The proponents of the conference continued to encounter lack of enthusiasm in many quarters. The conference finally was convened in late November, presided over by Lambilliotte, who was assisted by Canon Raymond Goor, a fellow Belgian and a WPC member. The organizers of the conference insisted that the initiative for the conference was not Communist. However, the hand of the WPC in organizing it was evident from the first. Of the 300 delegates, about a third were "professing Communists," the remainder consisting of leftwing Socialists, professional "freedom-fighters" and credulous fellow-travelers. The international organizations that sent representatives were mostly the Communist front organizations.

In spite of continued lukewarm response to the call for a CES, the WPC continues to include this as a priority item on the agenda of all important WPC meetings. The most recent of these, the Budapest World Peace Assembly held in mid-May 1971, broke down the work of the

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four-day session into six committees dealing with: Indochina, the Middle East, European security, the struggle against racism, curbing the arms race, and the struggle against neo-colonialism. The assembly ended with the adoption of a manifesto that called for a world disarmament conference, supported a proposal for a conference of the five atomic powers, and proposed creation of a European security and cooperation system based on recognition of post-war boundaries (which is precisely what the USSR wants). The manifesto description of the State-of-the-World in 1971 was a recitation of the views that the United States and its clients are the only barriers to peace and prosperity for mankind.

Disarmament

The WPC position on disarmament also follows closely that of the Soviet Union, and most WPC-sponsored meetings include a statement on disarmament in resolutions adopted at the meetings. General disarmament now has taken on highly emotional overtones. Herein undoubtedly lies a significant part of the importance of the WPC (and the other Communist fronts as well) as an auxiliary of Soviet foreign policy. The WPC specializes in emotional appeals. Unhampered by the necessity of subjecting Soviet disarmament proposals to careful examination, the WPC can direct the variations on the "threat of a nuclear war," the reduction of "international tension," increased "confidence among states," the "establishment of de-nuclearized zones," the prevention of the "spread of nuclear weapons," and the "renunciation of nuclear weapons"--all phrases that, combined with "peace" and "peaceful coexistence" are reiterated endlessly, expanded upon, and given a local coloration by the WPC and the other Communist fronts throughout the world. All international Communist fronts advocate unverified disarmament along the lines of the disarmament proposals advanced by Soviet foreign policy spokesmen. The WPC has been the most vociferous of the fronts, but often the WPC proposals are made with some tie-in with the other fronts.

The WPC relies not so much on the hope of immediate response to Soviet foreign policy overtures as on the Pavlovian conditioning process. Gradually, month after month and year after year, the patient reiteration by the WPC and the other front organizations of the Soviet line

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on disarmament obscures for many segments of opinion in the non-Communist world the need to examine Soviet proposals critically. Hence, pressure is generated on the Western democracies to retreat more and more from demands that true disarmament can take place only through an elaborate check-and-balance system of inspection.

The Middle East, Latin America, and Africa

The Middle East conflict has occupied a place on the agenda of most WPC-sponsored conferences since the six-day war erupted in the Middle East in June 1967. Although resolutions adopted at the conferences reflect the pro-Arab bias of the Soviets, the Middle East sometimes has been a thorny problem for WPC meetings to tackle. When the WPC Presidential Committee met in Leningrad in October of that year, the Middle East situation was a topic of considerable discussion and controversy. Although all final decisions made at the conclusion of that meeting were claimed to be unanimous, there were admitted differences of opinion on the Middle East. Nevertheless, the WPC leadership managed to suppress opposition when the final statements and resolutions were published. The statement on the Middle East deplored the "Israeli aggression on 5 June, inspired and encouraged by the USA, Britain, and the German Federal Republic," and said it is "likely to serve NATO plans as a model for Europe and falls within the global strategy of the USA... We call on all organizations and groups standing for peace to send representatives to Arab countries in order to acquaint themselves with the problems facing these countries in connection with Israeli aggression... The Presidential Committee of the WPC calls on all peace forces to launch a world campaign for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories..." Statements on the Middle East issued by the WPC at its conferences since 1967 have all reflected a similar propaganda line.

The WPC has for years aimed statements decrying "anticolonialism" and "neocolonialism" at the under-developed countries in Latin America and Africa, referring invariably to the "anticolonialism" of the West and never to that of the USSR. However, WPC attempts to spread its influence in Latin America have not been notably successful. A major reason for the WPC failure in Latin America probably has been the Cuban domination of regional meetings held in Latin America and the seizure by Cuba of control of most regional organizations that have been set up.

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If the WPC generally has failed in Latin America, it has had greater success in Africa, especially in forging closer ties with AAPSO. Prior to 1967, AAPSO was a prime battleground for the Sino-Soviet conflict, but when the Chinese Communists withdrew from AAPSO in 1967 the organization became for all intents and purposes a Soviet-controlled front.

In recent years the WPC has managed to assume a certain degree of leadership within AAPSO, thus enabling it to influence AAPSO policy and reach audiences otherwise unreachable by Bloc parties and/or by Communist parties outside the Bloc. AAPSO propaganda has recently mirrored WPC policy, not only by emphasizing the "just" wars being waged by the still dependent African countries against the colonial and white redoubt powers but also by stressing the equal culpability of the NATO members who assist those powers.

A three-man delegation headed by Romesh Chandra represented the WPC at the AAPSO Council meeting in Nicosia in mid-February 1967, at which a resolution was approved expressing the support of the Afro-Asian peoples for a "Conference of Solidarity with the Portuguese Colonies, Zimbabwe, Southwest Africa, and South Africa" to be sponsored by the WPC. Chandra attended the tenth anniversary celebrations of AAPSO held in Cairo in late December of that year. A joint statement issued following talks with AAPSO Secretary General Yusuf Al-Sibai "affirmed the importance of increasing and developing solidarity and unity among all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, in view of the deteriorating international situation in Africa and Asia, resulting from a stronger world imperialist strategy."

In April 1968 a delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee met with Al-Sibai in Cairo to discuss arrangements for the date and place of the WPC-sponsored "Conference of Solidarity." Following this meeting it was announced that the WPC and AAPSO had decided to hold the conference in June in Conakry, Guinea, but it was later postponed to January 1969, with the site of the meeting changed to Khartoum, Sudan. Khalid Muhyi al-Din, of Egypt, a WPC Presidential Committee member, was appointed chairman of the preparatory committee, whose sponsors, in addition to the WPC and AAPSO, had been expanded to include a number of "liberation movements" in the area. The conference was finally held in Khartoum in late January 1969, with more than 200 delegates representing 50 countries attending.

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In mid-December 1969 the WPC Presidential Committee held a meeting in Khartoum--the first time the Presidential Committee had ever met in Africa. There were 98 participants from 30 countries. The usual themes on Vietnam, national liberation movements, and European security were the main subjects for discussion. In June 1970, a joint WPC-AAPSO "Conference in Support of the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies" was held in Rome. The delegates condemned the "colonial war" allegedly being conducted by Portugal with the aid of NATO countries. Delegates from 177 national and international organizations in 64 countries attended the conference.

The Ninth Council session of AAPSO was held in Tripoli in November 1970, with relatively heavy WPC participation; the Fifth AAPSO Conference is scheduled to be held in Cairo in January 1972, and it is anticipated that the WPC will be well represented at that meeting also.

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III

ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS

As noted earlier, there are three leading bodies in the WPC--the Council itself, the Presidential Committee, and the Secretariat. Although in theory the Council elects the Presidential Committee and the Presidential Committee elects the Secretariat, such "elections" are purely ceremonial and, in fact, each of the three bodies operates relatively independently of one another.

The crucial control element in the WPC is that small group in the organization's leadership that provides continuity in the day-to-day administration of the organization. This group is centered in the Secretariat, under the direction of Romesh Chandra. The Secretariat is not responsible to the Council; if individuals or groups within the WPC membership are unhappy with the way Chandra manages its affairs--and this often happens--there is no mechanism whereby they may ensure their views will be taken into account and given proper weight when decisions are made on behalf of the WPC.

Finances

While the WPC never publishes a financial statement and few details about its finances are available, finances do not generally appear to be a serious problem for the WPC. The operational expenses of the small group that controls the WPC are quite modest, wholly carried by the Soviets. The various national peace committees are supposed to contribute funds to defray expenses of the WPC, and it is evident that even those small sums contributed by these committees are controlled by the Soviets.

A "World Peace Fund" was established in 1961 with a bank account in Stockholm; a new office of this "Fund" was set up in 1966 in Helsinki. The Fund allegedly was set up to organize money-raising activities on behalf of the WPC. Funds were to be gathered by arranging for lotteries and international bazaars, by asking painters and writers for authorization to

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sell their works in the "cause of peace," and by outright solicitation from individuals in different countries, especially in ecclesiastical circles. However, little has been heard of the Fund since 1966, and it is doubtful that it actually contributes much to the financial assets of the WPC. It may well be that the World Peace Fund was designed simply to camouflage for friend and foe alike the major Soviet funding channel to the WPC, and perhaps to instill a feeling of active (monetary) support to the peace movement from individuals and organizations, especially from the "third world."

Large-scale congresses and conferences organized by the WPC do cost a good deal of money, and the deficits that occur are made up by the Soviet Union. It is interesting to note that the question of how these meetings are financed seldom comes up during the conferences. The Soviets often subsidize travel costs of delegates to WPC meetings, for which they expect a quid pro quo for money expended, that is, that the delegates thus subsidized will hew to the Soviet line. Sometimes the package is sweetened with paid vacations in the USSR before or after the WPC meeting. As an example, invitations were extended from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization to selected individuals to spend two weeks in Moscow as Soviet guests following the mid-December 1968 Stockholm World Conference on Vietnam. This would allow these individuals to defray at least partial travel expenses. One person the Soviets apparently wanted at Stockholm for prestige purposes was Indian Justice H. R. Gokhale. Romesh Chandra had asked Justice Gokhale to lead a four-member Indian delegation to Stockholm and then go on to Moscow. Gokhale had to turn down the Stockholm invitation because he had cases at the Supreme Court on those dates, but he expressed an interest in the Moscow invitation. However, he found this invitation was withdrawn unless he would attend the Stockholm conference first.

The Soviets also foot the bill for the WPC publications. These presently include (1) an eight-page magazine called Peace Courier, the first issue of which appeared in September 1970, and which is published rather irregularly but more or less on a monthly basis, and (2) a much larger monthly magazine called New Perspectives, which made its first appearance in June 1971. The first two issues of New Perspectives have run to around 100

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pages; the publication is printed on slick paper basically in black and white, but an attempt is made to give the magazine a more lively appearance by lavish use of additional colors (blue and orange) in subheadings, inserts, and cover pages. While the magazine indicated it hoped that contributors "would represent the widest spectrum of public opinion," of the 26 contributors to the first issue, 18 are members of international Communist front organizations or of the "International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam," a body that was set up by the WPC-dominated Stockholm World Conference on Vietnam. The new publication is an ambitious undertaking and will undoubtedly entail a sizeable subsidy from the Soviets to keep it going.

According to the rules and regulations of the WPC that were in effect for a number of years, the method of financing the organization was stated in vague and general terms: "The finances of the WPC are collected through contributions from national peace committees, donations to the World Peace Fund, and collections made for special activities." At the meeting of the WPC Presidential Committee during the May 1971 Budapest World Peace Assembly, the regulations regarding financing were changed. Under the new regulations, every national organization, movement, or group and every individual member of the WPC must make an annual contribution to the funds of the WPC. However, the regulations left the amount of the annual contribution to the discretion of the organizations and individuals "in accordance with their possibilities," so it is unlikely that this new funding regulation will augment the finances of the WPC to any significant degree. It is not likely, either, that the WPC would consider excluding any individual or group from membership because of nonpayment of dues.

Soviet Control Mechanisms

Soviet control over the WPC's purse strings is a primary mechanism for control of the organization's activities. Specific details of the funding channels used by the Soviets are lacking, but it can be postulated that the top leadership of the WPC is involved, particularly in the person of the secretary general, Romesh Chandra, who is fully responsive to Moscow's direction. Since he is the individual most directly

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involved in the administration of the WPC's activities, it is obviously vital to the Soviets that they control him. It is noteworthy that when Chandra travels to a WPC meeting anywhere around the world he invariably stops off in Moscow, either immediately before or after the meeting, for "consultations." Aside from whatever directives Chandra receives from Moscow during his frequent visits there, he is under the day-to-day direction of the man in the WPC who evidently exercises the behind-the-scenes control over the organization: Aleksandr Berkov, the most important Soviet personality in the WPC and a member of the WPC Secretariat. More than once, Berkov has been known to overrule Chandra's decisions with respect to meetings Chandra is to attend or activities he is to pursue, and in terms that brook no argument.

Because Berkov appears to be a key man in the WPC, he warrants a certain amount of attention. In addition to being a member of the WPC Secretariat, he is a member of the ILC, and he apparently spends fully as much time in Stockholm working on Vietnam activities as he does in Helsinki dealing with WPC matters. However, he does not appear to be substantively involved in the detailed planning of WPC and ILC activities; rather, he seems to be the man who passes the orders down from Moscow on what meetings are to be held and where. Furthermore, as noted previously, it is apparent that he has a direct hand in funding aspects of both the WPC and the ILC, and he is often responsible for arranging free air travel for delegates to various meetings. As with Chandra, Berkov travels frequently, with Moscow a stopover on almost all trips.

Berkov is a shadowy figure who first appeared abroad in 1965, at the age of 42, as a Soviet Peace Committee apparatchik. No information is available about his background prior to that time. It is possible he was a Communist Party functionary, and he appears to have had some background in journalism. One individual described him as a professor of some sort.

Berkov clearly is not a desk-bound front group functionary, and does not appear to be a peace front expert. He seems to be ignorant about many organizations and personalities that a front apparatchik should know all about. Because he has remained in the background in WPC meetings, little attention has been focused on Berkov. As the man who probably represents the key

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control element in both the WPC and the ILC, it is highly likely that he is a Soviet agent, probably under the direction of the CPSU. More information about him and his activities is needed.

Although key men in the WPC such as Berkov and Chandra can be relied on by the Soviets to do their bidding, the administrative structure of the WPC provides additional guarantees of control by handpicked pro-Soviet Communists and leftists. New members of the Council are selected from nominations submitted in advance by the national peace committees in the different countries. The national peace committees, in turn, have been set up as local Communist fronts, generally with the assistance of the WPC, with care being taken that the leaders of the peace committees are responsive to Soviet direction.

Within the WPC itself, the organization tries to bring into its fold a certain number of prestigious non-Communist figures to provide a facade of independence and nonalignment as do the national peace committees as well. A glance at the membership list attached as Appendix B, however, shows that the major portion of the individuals affiliated with the WPC are active in Communist affairs in their own countries, and many are also active in the national peace committees in their own countries. In all cases, the Communist members of the WPC belong to pro-Soviet groups within their own parties.

When "elections" for members of the Presidential Committee are held, each new candidate's name is carefully screened by the WPC leadership in advance. Except when someone resigns, however, or when the Committee is enlarged, as it was in May 1971, there is seldom much change in the membership of the Presidential Committee. Lack of adherence to any truly democratic standards in elections in the WPC is illustrated by the unsuccessful attempt by the leaders of the Spanish Communist Party in exile (PCE) at the May 1971 Budapest World Peace Assembly to remove as their representative on the Presidential Committee a man no longer acceptable to them. This man is Enrique Lister Forjan, a dissident Communist who had been expelled from the PCE. Lister, who fought in the Spanish Civil War and is known as the "Red General," is believed to be a Soviet citizen and reportedly lives on a Soviet pension. He has hewed

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to the Soviet line on the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, whereas the PCE has adopted a position critical of the Soviet Union on the Czechoslovak issue. This is a main bone of contention between the PCE and Lister. The official Spanish delegation to the Budapest assembly, which had the blessing of the PCE, was led by Lenin Peace Prize holder Rafael Alberti. Lister, a longtime resident of Cuba who probably lives in Paris at present, arrived in Budapest with a small group of followers representing a dissident faction of the PCE that is considerably smaller than the official PCE.

The Alberti delegation nominated several people for membership in the WPC, including a man they proposed as replacement for Lister on the WPC Presidential Committee. However, the nominees were all rejected by the Soviet-dominated leadership of the WPC. As a result, Alberti and his delegation walked out of the Budapest assembly, issuing a statement denouncing the WPC leadership for refusing to allow the delegation, which represented the majority faction of the Spanish national peace committee, to exert its sovereignty in nominating Spain's representatives to the WPC and its Presidential Committee. The statement noted that "The situation in which the Spanish delegation found itself does not concern us alone. It also affects the entire peace movement, the complex nature of which makes it very important that the principle of noninterference be effectively respected. The violation of this principle is damaging for the WPC since it goes against the principles proclaimed by the WPC."

Adverse Effects of Soviet Control

By maintaining control over key individuals within the WPC, the Soviets are in the driver's seat at conferences where communiques are issued, resolutions adopted, and decisions made about future activities of the Council. The Soviets do not achieve their objectives without generating a considerable amount of resentment and opposition. Nevertheless, the pro-Soviet leaders are able to confine the opposition, which is often quite vocal and pronounced, to meetings of commissions and sub-commissions of the conference sessions. Opposition views seldom

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find their way beyond the halls of these meeting places, almost never into the large-scale gatherings of the entire Council. The Council leadership strives for adoption of all resolutions "unanimously," so pro-Soviet leaders buttonhole dissenters in the corridors or during sub-commission and commission meetings to persuade them to change their views. Dissenting views of those individuals who refuse to be cowed are simply ignored when the final resolutions are adopted.

A rare firsthand account of Communist maneuverings at a WPC meeting was provided by a delegate who attended the June 1969 World Assembly for Peace in East Berlin. The delegate, Peggy Duff, general secretary of the International Confederation of Disarmament and Peace (ICDP) (a leftist but non-Communist-led peace group), revealed her disenchantment with the proceedings in an article in the 4 July 1969 issue of the British leftist weekly Tribune. (No official report of the assembly was issued, and the press conference that was to be held after the final plenary session was called off because the "monolithic unanimity" the pro-Soviet leaders of the assembly desired had not been obtained.) Duff reported that no vote was taken at the assembly on the final general resolution, presumably because it was clear that a significant number of delegates had decided to vote against it. She remarked: "It will be interesting to see whether the reports reflecting dissent only briefly here and there will ever see the light of day again. Certainly by the time I left they were not available even for delegates."

Pointing out that the ICDP believes in the need for dialogues between the WPC and independent peace movements, she said the ICDP made its views clear in a letter circulated beforehand to organizations and individuals expected to attend the East Berlin assembly. This stated: "It would seem absolutely unacceptable that opposing principles should be applied to different people, to different countries, to different continents. What is true for the United States of America must be true for the Soviet Union and vice versa. If we wish to be respected, if we wish to be listened to, we have to emphasize that the same principles of truth and

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justice, the same rights of self-determination, must govern equally the relations between all nations, great and small. National sovereignty must be respected by all and in every case."

Standing orders adopted at the first plenary session of the assembly guaranteed all participants "complete freedom to express their views in any commission, sub-commission or group of their choice" and stated that reports "would reflect these discussions, enumerate points in which agreement had been reached and also contain those points on which different points of view had been expressed."

Duff noted that while freedom of expression on the commission certainly existed, though not always without difficulty, "some of the reports either minimized or omitted minority points of view."

The Czechoslovakia question was particularly fresh on everyone's mind at the East Berlin assembly, but Duff said she had the greatest difficulty in getting to the rostrum when she wanted to raise this question at one of the sub-commission meetings, even though she had been given repeated assurances ahead of time that she would be taken early. At a further meeting of the sub-commission, a Soviet delegate put his country's viewpoint "in a threatening and belligerent 30-minute speech" and a paragraph written by Duff for the report, covering the views of the minority, was rejected although it was supported by a number of delegates. As the assembly went on, Duff said it became increasingly difficult to get minority viewpoints included in reports, with underhanded means used to suppress them. Thus, for example, when a minority group insisted that its wording be included in a final report, as the rules explicitly stated it should, the Soviet-backed majority would agree to do so, but when the report was actually issued the minority wording would be omitted.

Duff pointed out that the treatment of the press was also unsatisfactory. The press was admitted to plenary meetings, where the agendas had been set and speeches prepared ahead of time, but banned from commission and sub-commission meetings, where the dissident views were expressed. "The result was that journalists were starved of information about the

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commissions and had no opportunity to talk to delegates. Press conferences, when they took place, told them nothing of interest."

Duff noted that there are "individuals and some organizations within the WPC anxious to liberalize it as far as is possible within the straitjacket of the Soviet face," but she sees three obstacles in their path:

"Too many delegates and their organizations are 'client states' of the Soviet Union who bring prepared texts for their speeches and are not interested in dialogue."

"While there has certainly been heated discussion within the WPC on a number of issues such as the Middle East and Czechoslovakia, the arguments take place behind closed doors and rarely reach the press."

"The invasion of Czechoslovakia has hardened the pressure for unity at all costs, especially on public occasions that are not restricted to Communist parties."

Other non-committed leftists were voicing their disillusionment with the WPC for its pro-Soviet bias as early as the mid-1950's. On 4 February 1955 the British Methodist Church leader and leftwing pacifist, Dr. Donald Soper, wrote in the Tribune: "I am quite satisfied that the WPC and the British Peace Committee, which is its typical representative, are primarily organs of Russian propaganda. I would want to discourage peace-lovers in England from allowing themselves to become the well-meaning but inevitable pawns of the Russian Party line, with its insistence that war is the original sin of the Western powers and that peace is the immaculate conception of the Soviet Bloc."

Six weeks later, a telling criticism of the WPC came out of Burma. New Light of Burma declared on 18 March 1955: "A suspicious step in the activities of the WPC is that all peace movements blindly and unanimously support the political ideology of the Communist countries irrespective of whether it is right or wrong.... The

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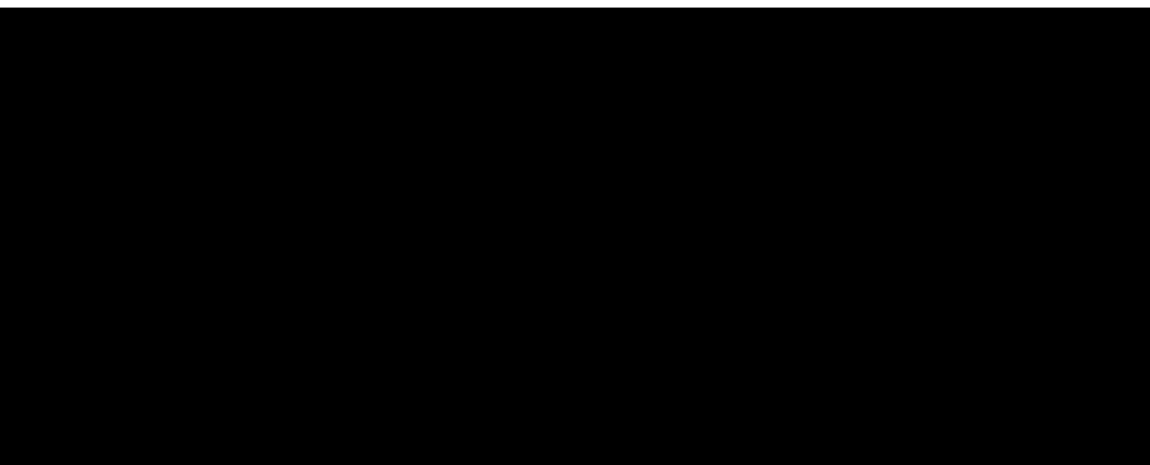
strangest fact of all is that all the conferences held by the WPC unquestionably accept the policy and program of the Soviet Communist Party and, what is more, they disseminate propaganda on its behalf.... Another strange thing is that the Communist-dominated WPC pronounces sweet phrases about peace on the one hand while, on the other, it incites hatred and animosity of the masses in various countries against the states, systems, and individuals it dislikes. Such an organization can never be regarded as the hub of a peace movement."

The Role of the KGB

From time to time efforts have been made to identify the role the KGB plays in front organizations such as the WPC. While there may be individuals in the WPC who function or have functioned as Soviet agents, there is no evidence that the KGB has recruited agents in the WPC solely on the basis of their WPC membership, and it is not likely that the KGB plays a role in controlling the actions WPC members take on behalf of the WPC. Soviet control over individual Communist members of the WPC probably is exerted through Communist party channels in the countries concerned and through the CPSU.

If the KGB currently plays a role in WPC activities, it is probably limited to the role its predecessor organization, the MVD, was reported by a Soviet defector to have played in the mid-1950's--using the WPC to collect intelligence on foreign policies of the countries they represented. Even this use probably is minimal today, since the KGB has better channels for collecting such intelligence.

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The MVD was not directly represented within the organizational framework of the WPC, [REDACTED] nor did MVD personnel, as a rule, participate in WPC meetings. However, MVD officers, including three who were under cover at the time as TASS correspondents in Vienna, made it their business to talk to individual delegates to WPC sessions and to squeeze out as much information as possible. While the MVD was not interested in the meetings and resolutions of the WPC, it focused its attention on the present and future policies of the countries represented. In case of need, the MVD might possibly have used the WPC as a cover to send agents to Western countries, although this would have been the exception rather than the rule.

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[REDACTED] said it is possible the leaders of some delegations to the World Peace Congresses were Soviet agents and had the task of steering the meetings along the course most favorable to the Soviet regime. Under normal circumstances, however, the MVD probably avoided the recruitment of agents among the members of such organizations. The detection of a single agent would undoubtedly have destroyed the "peace movement" as a useful international instrument.

WPC Problems

While the WPC can tolerate a fair amount of dissent within its ranks without losing control, the disenchantment of people such as Peggy Duff, Donald Soper, and the unidentified Burmese writer cited earlier can and does generate adverse publicity, and can cause disaffected members to leave the WPC. A primary problem confronting the organization, then, is how to attract non-Communist pacifist groups who are sincerely working for peace and fuse them into a peace movement that can at one and the same time be made acceptable to the world as the major organization of its kind and yet be kept wholly responsive to Soviet guidance and control. The WPC professes to want to include in its fold every individual, every national or regional group, every national or international organization taking part in the struggle for peace and independence. It claims to seek cooperation with all other peace organizations and forces and to welcome participation of these organizations in common and

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parallel activities. In practical terms this means that the WPC increasingly has to open its conferences and national gatherings not only to representatives of other Communist fronts (an older practice) but also to representatives of pacifist, neutralist, and non-Communist international organizations.

With its special appeal to pacifists, intellectuals, idealists, and the church-oriented, the WPC has been most successful among all Communist fronts in camouflaging its true nature and in winning non-Communist members. But the fruits of its success also contain the seeds of its most destructive problems--the problems of keeping its variegated membership in line.

The Sino-Soviet conflict was a severe problem to the WPC that for many years accentuated the inherent weaknesses within the organization, lessened outright Soviet control, and reduced the WPC's effectiveness. During the early 1960's, WPC meetings often were brought to near chaos by the bitter wrangling between pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet delegates, but this problem subsided after the Chinese withdrew from the organization in the mid-1960's.

An even more serious problem is the aftermath of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces in 1968. The WPC lost considerable stature in the eyes of outsiders as well as many of its own members when it refused to issue a condemnation of the Soviet Union in 1956 after Soviet tanks had invaded Hungary, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia dealt an even more serious blow to the organization. Several of the national peace committees came out in strong opposition of the Warsaw Pact forces, and the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence, and Equality sent a letter to the WPC in which it proposed that the WPC should "launch a concrete action in favor of the victim of intervention." There is no record that the WPC ever acknowledged or responded to this appeal. The WPC has sought to minimize the effects of the Czechoslovak invasion by intensifying its attacks on NATO and "neo-Nazism" and like themes that serve to divert attention from Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, the matter still troubles the organization occasionally, as witness the problems with the Spanish delegates to the 1971 Budapest assembly (see page 31).

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The WPC's activities have stimulated some interest and support in Asia and Africa, where its avowed aims of mobilizing the peoples of the world in "defense of peace," of exposing "warmongers," and of bringing about a peaceful settlement of international differences are not always recognized as being a covert way of furthering the quite different interests of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, as representatives from the underdeveloped areas become more active in the WPC they also find cause for dissatisfaction with the organization. They often feel they are inadequately represented on committees and commissions; they believe there should be less concern for prominent names and more for practical regional work and conferences as well as more direct discussions with national organizations and more awareness of the many millions who only recently began to speak for themselves. Moreover, even within WPC ranks the fact is not overlooked that some WPC "representatives" have questionable influence or standing in their own countries, that is, that they "represent" themselves, more or less.

Reorganization and structural reform is a perennial preoccupation of the WPC. Various WPC committees have been examining this problem since the early 1960's, but little or no progress has been achieved, and it does not appear likely that any real structural changes are in the offing. This problem came to a head at the big WPC meeting of 1965, the World Congress for Peace, National Independence, and Disarmament held in Helsinki in July of that year, which brought together 1470 delegates from 98 countries and 17 international organizations. At this congress, Professor Bernal submitted his resignation as chairman, at the same time submitting a memorandum containing proposals for reform. It had become clear that in order to attract other non-aligned peace groups the WPC must acquire a less pro-Soviet image, and that concessions would have to be made to the affiliated national peace committees that were demanding greater freedom of action and to the Africans and Asians who were demanding bigger representation on the WPC Presidential Committee and Secretariat. A committee was then appointed to investigate the matter of reform and report back to the WPC within six months, but nothing ever came of

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this committee's efforts. A more or less permanent WPC Structural Committee appears to have evolved. Typical of the results of this committee's activities is the report of its meeting in Budapest in mid-September 1970. Romesh Chandra told reporters after this meeting that the main point on the agenda had been the need to extend the structural limits of the peace movement to allow friendly organizations to become more effectively involved than hitherto. Many speakers at the meeting stressed a point that had been made several times previously--that the international peace movement should be based on wider foundations.

In considering the question of structural modernization, the WPC's dilemma continues to be that if it wishes to portray itself successfully as a genuine peace-making body and to work with other organizations having similar aims it must become organizationally democratic, financially independent, and politically nonaligned. Its functions would then be essentially to coordinate the activities of national peace movements rather than to continue the current practice of imposing on them policies framed in Moscow. But such a transformation would mean the WPC had lost its value to the Soviet Union--and therefore its Soviet subsidies. Genuine reform could thus lead to the WPC's extinction.

It should be noted that there are many people--genuine pacifists--active in the world peace movement who associate themselves with the WPC in full recognition of the fact that the WPC is not an impartial peace group, hoping to achieve, not the extinction of the organization, but its reform into the genuine article. They realize that the WPC has a well-developed structure, a staff experienced in organizing large international meetings, and a long history of activity in the peace movement. They enter into joint activities with the WPC with their eyes open, hoping that they can make positive and constructive use of the assets of the organization in the cause of peace. These genuine pacifists are a constant threat to the WPC leadership and to the viability of the organization as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

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IV

CURRENT STATUS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

While the Vietnam war gave the WPC a host of exploitable issues that served to rescue the organization from what might have become permanent oblivion, as these issues recede into the background the WPC can no longer rely on events in Indochina to provide the impetus to keep it in the vanguard of the "peace movement." Nevertheless, the WPC has been quick to seize other exploitable issues and to ally itself with organizations and causes that can enhance its own stature.

A WPC delegation headed by Romesh Chandra visited New York early in September 1971 to call on United Nations Secretary General U Thant, a visit that may have had as its main purpose the promotion of the Soviet-backed international disarmament conference. Reportedly, the conversations between the WPC delegation and U Thant covered a broad range of topics, lasted for two hours instead of the one hour that had been scheduled, and the visit has been evaluated by the WPC delegation as highly successful. U Thant is said to have spoken very highly of the WPC and the world peace movement in general, and the WPC delegation was so encouraged by his remarks that it considered inviting him to affiliate in some form with the organization when he leaves the United Nations.

The WPC, which is one of the non-governmental organizations (NGO's) affiliated with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), has been pursuing an active role in UNESCO in recent years. Relations between UNESCO and the NGO's fall into three different categories according to the nature of the cooperation between the organizations and UNESCO, which may range from the purely informational (Category C) to an active working relationship (Category A). Until recently, the WPC had been associated with UNESCO in Category C, but in May 1971 the UNESCO Executive Board granted it Category B status. This gives the WPC many rights and privileges it did not previously enjoy, such as attendance at UNESCO meetings, financial subsidies, the right to advise UNESCO on its program,

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and the receipt of UNESCO documentation. All of this considerably enhances the international standing of the WPC.

The WPC has been utilizing its status as an NGO affiliated with UNESCO as yet another forum in which to press for the international conference on disarmament that the Soviets have been so actively pursuing. The NGO's have their own Committee on Disarmament, which met in Geneva in late June 1971 to discuss the possibility of convening a worldwide NGO conference on disarmament. In a 29 July letter to WPC members giving them an overview of international developments of significance to the WPC since the Budapest assembly in May, Chandra said that he attached "special significance" to the work of the NGO Committee on disarmament, of which, he said, the WPC is the "vice president."

In conjunction with WPC activities in UNESCO, of perhaps more than passing interest is the fact that the new Soviet permanent representative assigned to UNESCO is a man who in the past has been associated with Soviet espionage activities. He is Sergei Kudryavtsev, who is characterized by the London Sunday Telegraph in an article on 12 September 1971 as a man who has had a long career in espionage. He was named in 1960 by the Soviet defector, Igor Gouzenko, as the mastermind in the wartime Soviet spy ring in Canada, which obtained many American and British atomic secrets. Its members included the scientists Fuchs and Nunn May. Kudryavtsev became ambassador to Cuba in 1960 and is believed to have set up a spy network there. Just prior to his assignment to UNESCO, he was the Soviet ambassador to Cambodia. His relations with the WPC representatives while he is at UNESCO may bear watching.

The WPC cooperates fully with the Prague-based Christian Peace Conference, which has personal as well as affiliation ties with hundreds of non-Bloc clergy and students of theology throughout the world. The Christian Peace Conference itself has functioned as a crypto-Communist front since its inception in 1958, and thus its aims and those of the WPC are in concert. Both the WPC and the Christian Peace Conference have become increasingly active in World Council of Churches affairs in recent years, and they both play a role in attempting to guide the deliberations and pronouncements of that body.

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Although nonaligned pacifists would like to reorient the WPC away from its pro-Soviet stance and turn it into a genuine peace movement, so far their efforts have not been successful. The WPC has had its ups and downs; it appears presently, in terms of potential for continued usefulness to the Soviets, to be near its zenith among the international Communist front organizations.

The Soviets seem to be well satisfied with the WPC's efforts on their behalf, as evidenced by the comments about the results of the organization's May 1971 Budapest World Peace Assembly that appeared in the July 1971 issue of the World Marxist Review. The World Marxist Review, which is published in Prague, is the central organ of the World Communist Movement, the highest level Soviet-controlled guidance instrument for Communist leadership throughout the world. The July article noted with satisfaction that the WPC's Budapest Assembly "fully identified itself with the peace policy of the Socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union." The article went on to state that "It was not accidental that the Assembly was so interested to hear the following passage of the message sent by N. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR: 'The Soviet Union, loyal to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, consistently follows a policy of actively defending peace and building up international security. This is explicitly reaffirmed in the program for safeguarding peace and promoting international cooperation announced by the recent 24th Congress of the CPSU.'" The World Marxist Review's comment on Podgorny's message was thus a reminder to the WPC and its Communist adherents around the world that they could look only to the decisions of the 24th Congress to determine the present combat role the WPC has been assigned by the CPSU.

In late 1970 the WPC published a "Program of Actions" for 1971 that gave a month-by-month summary of its plans for the year. A copy of this listing is attached as Appendix A together with a summary of the statements, protests, and appeals the WPC issued during June 1971. This gives a picture of the general scope of activities encompassed by the organization during the year.

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WPC PROGRAM OF ACTIONS FOR 1971

- JANUARY 20 - "STOP NIXON DAY" (International day of protest against Nixon's aggression on the Indochinese peoples, marking two years of Nixon's presidency).
- JANUARY-FEBRUARY - Bi-lateral meetings with the representatives of international organizations to discuss cooperation and common actions during 1971.
- JANUARY-FEBRUARY - Visits of delegation of the World Peace Council to countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.
- FEBRUARY 4 - International Day of Support to the Angolan people's struggle (10th anniversary of the launching of the armed liberation struggle).
- FEBRUARY 13 - Tenth anniversary of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba.
- FEBRUARY-MARCH - International week of protest against the collusion of U.S. imperialists and Japanese militarists against the freedom of Asian countries.
- FEBRUARY - International seminar on "Prospects of Economic and Scientific Cooperation among the countries of Europe and the Role of the Peace Movement", Warsaw.
- MARCH 17 - Zimbabwe Day.
- MARCH 18 - International Day of protest against the US inspired coup in Cambodia (anniversary of the coup d'etat).
- MARCH 21 - Anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre - Day of Solidarity with the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

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- MARCH 21 - International Day in support of the Palestine resistance.
- MARCH - Scientific conference of experts and specialists on racism and apartheid.
- APRIL 7 - International Day of solidarity with the Arab victims of Israeli repression (anniversary of massacre of Deir Yassin, 1948).
- APRIL 28 - International day against US-Japan Security Treaty.
- APRIL - Conference for the removal of military bases in the Indian Ocean, to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace - Colombo, Ceylon.
- APRIL 30 - Day of Solidarity with Cambodian people (One year since US invasion of Cambodia).
- MAY 13 - 16 - SESSION OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
- MAY 17 - 23 - Week of solidarity with the Laotian people.
- MAY 19 - International day of solidarity with the people of Vietnam (81st birth anniversary of the late President Ho Chi Minh).
- MAY - Africa Liberation Day.
- MAY 7 - International day of solidarity with the peace movements of the USA (first anniversary of the murder of Kent State University students).
- JUNE 1 - 7 - International week of solidarity with the Arab peoples.
- JUNE 6 - Second anniversary of the foundation of the PRG of the Republic of South Vietnam.
- JUNE 26 - South Africa Freedom Day.

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- JUNE 25 - JULY 27- International month of solidarity with the Korean people, for the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea.
- JULY 20 - Anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam.
- AUGUST 3 - Day of solidarity with the peoples of Guinea-Bissao and Cap Verde.
- AUGUST 6 - 9 - World Days of disarmament - anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- AUGUST 26 - Namibia Day.
- SEPTEMBER 2 - Anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
- SEPTEMBER 25 - Mozambique Day.
- SEPTEMBER - International colloquium on questions of European Security German Democratic Republic.
- OCTOBER 12 - 19 - Second week of solidarity with the Laotian people on the occasion of the proclamation of Laotian independence.
- NOVEMBER 9 - 15 - International week of solidarity with the Cambodian people.
- DECEMBER 20 - Anniversary of the foundation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

DATES TO BE DECIDED UPON LATER

- International Conference for Peace and Justice in the Middle East.

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- International conference against racism and the problems of Southern Africa (in cooperation with the Organization for Afro-Asian Unity and the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization).
- International conference against colonialism (in cooperation with the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and the U.N. Committee for Decolonization).
- Week of solidarity with the Latin American peoples.
- International Conference on Racism and War (Toronto, Canada).
- Meetings on a zonal scale of Latin American peace movement, one for Central America, another for the Southern part of the continent.
- Latin American seminar on "Education and Peace" (Caracas, Venezuela).
- Seminar on the problems of developing countries (in cooperation with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization), Conakry, Guinea.
- Seminar on "Neo-colonialism as a weapon of imperialism" (in cooperation with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization), New Delhi, India.
- Symposium on "Oil as a weapon against imperialism and for attainment of national independence" (in cooperation with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization).
- Seminar on agrarian problems in developing countries (in cooperation with the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization).

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- Meeting of peace organizations in Africa.
- Meeting of peace organizations in Asia.
- Meeting of Arab peace movements.

GENERAL CAMPAIGNS

- Campaign on solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.
- Campaigns for European Security, for the convening of a conference of all European states, for the diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic.
- Campaign for the prohibition of bacteriological and chemical weapons.
- Campaign for a comprehensive test ban treaty.
- Observance of 1971 as International Year against Racism and Racial Discrimination, as decided by the United Nations.
- Campaign and other actions of the peace forces of concerned African and Latin American countries against the proposed "South Atlantic Treaty Organization".
- Campaign on solidarity with the Arab peoples.
- Campaign on solidarity with liberation movements of Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa.
- Campaign for the liquidation of foreign military bases.

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- Campaigns in solidarity with the people of Greece, Portugal and Spain.

OBSERVANCE OF CULTURAL ANNIVERSARIES FOR 1971

FEDOR DOSTOEVSKI	Russian writer. 150th anniversary of his birth (October 30).
THEODORE DREISER	American writer. 100th anniversary of his birth (August 27).
GUSTAVE FLAUBERT	French novelist. 150th anniversary of his birth (December 12).
ANTONIO DE CASTRO ALVES	Brazilian poet. 100th anniversary of his death (July 6).
ROBERT OWEN	British Publicist. Pioneer of trade unions and cooperatives. 200th anniversary of his birth.
VASILE ALECSANDRI	Rumanian writer and politician. 150th anniversary of his birth.
NIKOLAI NEKRASOV	Russian poet. 150th anniversary of his birth.
CYPRIAN NORWID	Polish poet, dramatist, prose-writer, sculptor and painter. 150th anniversary of his birth (November 24).

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WPC STATEMENTS, PROTESTS AND APPEALS, JUNE 1971

Chile. In a statement the WPC said: "Chile has been shaken by a new plot. The murder of Dr. Perez Zujovic, a former minister, is a new, tragic episode in the reactionary and imperialist conspiracy against Dr. Allende and his Government." In late April President Allende had warned of such plots when he said: "They (the imperialists) have not hesitated so far to put us on the brink of civil war". The WPC appealed to "all forces of national independence" to intensify international solidarity with Chile. (Press Release, No. 15, 15 June)

Iraq. A statement expressing shock over the violation of Human Rights in Iraq and appealing for an immediate end to such violation, for the release of political prisoners, for the closing of the El Nihaya Palace and for the decreeing of democratic freedom for all parties and for all patriotic political forces was signed by Romesh Chandra (India), WPC Secretary-General; Isabelle Blume (Belgium), Mme Yves Farge (France) and Hertta Kuusinen (Finland), WIDF President, all WPC Presidential Committee members; David A. Siqueiros (Mexico) and Pierre Biquard (France), WFSW Secretary-General, both WPC members; the Rev. Ralph Abernathy (USA), Luis Carlos Prestes (Brazil) and others. ('L'Humanite', 28 June)

Korea. In connection with the International Month of Solidarity with Korea, from 25 June - 27 July, the WPC said that this year, because the US imperialists were intensifying their aggressive maneuvers in Korea, each national committee should hold meetings and other demonstrations to draw attention to the situation in divided Korea. (Letter to National Committees', No. 23, 16 June)

Koreans in Japan. The WPC expressed its profound concern over the "repressive maneuvers" of the Sato Government of Japan against hundreds of thousands of Koreans living in Japan for several years. The law to control immigration was aimed at crushing the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, at closing the Korean University in Japan, and at returning Koreans in Japan by force to the South Korea of the

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"US puppet" and Pak Jung Hi clique. The WPC appealed to the Sato Government to repeal the law, and to national committees to gain support for the Korean residents. (Press Release, No. 13, 3 June)

East Pakistan. In an appeal (No. 14) issued in Helsinki on 14 June the WPC expressed "serious concern over the position of East Pakistan refugees", and appealed to national peace organizations to launch a campaign of assistance for them. The WPC also called for a political settlement of the situation in East Pakistan. (Tass, 14 June)

South Africa. The WPC said that "this year 26 June was to be a specially significant 'International Day of Solidarity for the Freedom of South Africa', since this was UN Anti-Racial Discrimination Year". Campaigns should be mounted for world public opinion to call for: "a halt to the sale of arms to South Africa; the imposition of an economic, social and cultural embargo on the racists regime in South Africa; a ban on landing and port facilities to aircraft and ships going to or from that country". Telegrams should be sent to the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa on 21 June for moves by that organization to condemn apartheid in South Africa. Moral, material and political support should be given to the freedom fighters led by the African National Congress (ANC). (Letter to National Committees, No. 22, 15 June)

USSR. On 21 June the WPC published a statement in connection with the 30th anniversary of Hitler's "perfidious attack" on the USSR. The peoples of Europe would also remember the heroic efforts by the peoples of the USSR that had led to victory in the war against Nazism and since then the USSR had strengthened its position of peace champion, despite "US imperialist intrigues". (Tass, 22 June)

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Members of the Presidential Committee of the World
Peace Council, as of 1970

Georgi ANDREEV	(Bulgaria)
Richard ANDRIAMANJATO	(Madagascar)
Dr. Herbert APTHEKER	(U.S.A.)
Bishop Tibor BARTHA	(Christian Peace Conference)
Mrs. Isabelle BLUME	(Belgium)
Amilcar CABRAL	(Guinea Bissau)
Ing. Alberto CASELLA	(Argentina)
Romesh CHANDRA	(India)
Choi Jilyn CHIMID	(Mongolia)
Camara DAMANTANG	(Guinea)
Rev. Alfred DICKIE	(Australia)
Marcelino DOS SANTOS	(Mozambique)
Yussef AL-SEBAI	(A.A.P.S.O.)
Dr. James ENDICOTT	(Canada)
Guido FANTI	(Italy)
Mrs. Yves FARGE	(France)
E.K. FYODOROV	(U.S.S.R.)
Pierre GENSOUS	(W.F.T.U.)
Dr. Carlton GOODLETT	(U.S.A.)
Canon Raymond GOOR	(Belgium) Observer
Dr. Samba GUEYE	(Senegal)
Raymond GUYOT	(France)
Prof. Tedijini HADDAM	(Algeria)
Dr. Yoshitaro HIRANO	(Japan)
Prof. Tudor IONESCU	(Romania)
Prof. Boleslaw IWASZIEWICZ	(Poland)
Dr. Cheddi JAGAN	(Guyana)
Kamal JUMBLATT	(Lebanon)
Kang YANG-UK	(D.P.R.K.)
Matti KEKKONEN	(Finland)
Alexander KORNEICHUK	(U.S.S.R.)
Mourad KOUATLY	(Syria)
Mrs. Hertta KUUSINEN	(W.I.D.F.)
Enrique LISTER	(Spain)
Prof. Dr. Josef LUKAS	(Czechoslovakia)
Lucio LUZZATTO	(Italy)
K.D. MALAVIYA	(India)
Prof. Juan MARINELLO	(Cuba)
Farrukh MASARADI	(Lebanon)
Khaled MOHEI EL DIN	(U.A.R.)
Ivor MONTAGU	(Britain)
Dr. Agostinho NETO	(Angola)
Oscar NIEMEYER	(Brazil)
Pastor D. Martin NIEMOLLER	(G.F.R.)

Prof. Albert NORDEN	(G.D.R.)
Angelo OLIVA	(WFDY)
Prof. Giorgio LA PIRA	(Italy) Observer
Prof. Olga POBLETE	(Chile)
Nouhak PHOUMSAVAN	(Laos)
Gordon SCHAFFER	(Britain)
Chau SENG	(Cambodia)
Aziz SHARIF	(Iraq)
Prof. Endre SIK	(Hungary)
Ali SIMBULE	(Zambia)
T.B. SUBASINGHE	(Ceylon)
Dr. John TAKMAN	(Sweden)
Oliver TAMBO	(A.N.C., South Africa)
Nguyen VAN HUI	(Republc of South Vietnam)
Theodore Eyst. GIANNOPOULOS	(Greece)

At its last session (Budapest, May 1971) the World Peace Council decided to keep places reserved in the Presidential Committee for one representative each of peace organizations in the Chinese Peoples Republic Nigeria, Sudan, the DRV, Venezuela, Mexico and the All-African Trade Union Federation.

Secretary General

Romesh CHANDRA	(India)
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Presidents of Honour

V.K. Krishna MENON	(India)
Pablo PICASSO	(Spain)
Louis SAILLANT	(France)

Members of the Secretariat

Mrs. Martha BUSCHMANN	(G.F.R.)
James FOREST	(U.S.A.)
Gabor GOBOLYOS	(Hungary)
Manuel LAFUENTE	(Spain)
H.D. MALAVIYA	(India)
Kazimierz KIELAN	(Poland)
Luciano MENCARAGLIA	(Italy)
Michael-Alphonse LANGIGNON	(France)
Emilson RANDRIAMIHASINORO	(Madagascar)
David RUMMELSBURG	(G.D.R.)
Varouj SALATIAN	(Syria)
Alfredo VARELA	(Argentina)
Nicolai VOSHCHININ	(U.S.S.R.)

ALGERIA

Adda BENGUETTAT	Former M.P.; General Secretary of the Algerian Afro-Asian Committee; Vice President of the Algerian Peace Movement.
Malek BENNABI	Writer; former Vice-Chancellor of Algiers University.
Abdoul Raman BOUCHAMA	City Architect of Algiers.
Mme Malika BOUMENDJEL	General Secretary of the Algerian Peace Movement; widow of Me Ali Boumendjel, posthumously awarded the Joliot-Curie Medal.
Noureddine DJOUDI	Head of Department of Socialist Countries in the Foreign Office.
Abdelkrim GHRAIEB	Office bearer of Friendship Society of Algerians living in Europe.
Prof. Tedjini HADDAM	Former Minister of Health and Population; President of Algerian Peace Movement; member of WPC Presidential Committee.
Mlle Safia BEN MAHDI	General Secretary of U.N.F.A. (National Union of Algerian Women).
Me Abdelkader OUGOUAG	Barrister at the Algiers Court of Appeal.
Abdelghani REFES	Vice-Head of Department of Foreign Relations of the F.L.N.
Abdelkader SAADNA	Head of Department of Foreign Relations, youth section of F.L.N.

Ahmed ZEMIRLINE

Professor; former M.P.;
Deputy General Secretary
of the Algerian Afro-
Asian Committee; Vice-
President of the Algerian
Peace Movement.

ANGOLA

Dr. Agostinho NETO

President of M.P.L.A.
(People's Movement for
the Liberation of Angola);
member of the WPC Pre-
sidential Committee;
Soviet Bloc oriented and
supported.

ARGENTINA

Dr. Ramon Edgardo ACUNA

Former Senator; leader
of U.C.R.P. (Radical
People's Union); former
Chairman of Senate Foreign
Commission; Lawyer.

Dr. Guillermo AHUMADA

Former professor of Buenos
Aires University; former
Director of Institute of
Economics and Finance of
the Law Faculty of Buenos
Aires; Publicist.

Juan Gaspar ALONSO

Secretary of C.G.T. of the
town of San Martin, pro-
vince of Buenos Aires.

Leonidas BARLETTA

Writer; Director of the
weekly "Propositos";
Director of the "People's
Theatre"; former President
of the Argentine Writers'
Association (S.A.D.E.).

Dr. Bernardo CANAL FEIJOO

Professor; writer;
laureate of National
Prize for Literature.

Ing. Alberto T. CASELLA	Former Master of University of La Plata; President of the Argentine Peace Council; member of the WPC Presidential Committee; Joliot-Curie Medal; engineer.
Ing. Felipe F. FREYRE	Engineer; University professor; Secretary of Argentine Peace Council.
Arch. Francisco GARCIA VAZQUEZ	Architect; former Head of the City Planning Department of Buenos Aires; Vice President of the Argentine Association of Architects; former Professor of the University of Buenos Aires.
Dr. Roberto GUARESTI	Lawyer; leader of the Peronist Party.
Jorge GUERSCHMAN	Secretary of Argentine Peace Council.
Sebastian INGRATTA	Evangelist Preacher; Head of the Non-Violent Movement and of "Argentine Solidarity Movement with Vietnam".
Antonio NAHMAN GARCIA	President of the U.P.A.R.A. (Union of Livestock and Agricultural Producers).
R.P. Jose NASSER	Catholic Priest; Professor at the Catholic University of Cordoba.
Mrs. Maria Rosa OLIVER	Writer; Laureate of Lenin Peace Prize.
Hector POLINO	Publicist; former Socialist Counsellor of Buenos Aires.

Ruben QUEIJO	Member of the National Bureau of the M.U.C.S. (Movement of Trade Union Unity and Coordination); leader of the Newspaper Vendors.
Dr. Aldo TESSIO	Lawyer; former Governor of Santa Fe; former Senator; Leader of V.C.R.P. Radical Party.
Alfredo VARELA	Writer; Joliot-Curie Medal; Secretary of WPC.
Rinato VASALLO	Leader of Argentine Socialist Party; former M.P.
Dr. Juan I. ZORRILLA	Doctor of Medicine; former President of the Argentine Radiology Association.
AUSTRALIA	
Rev. Allan BRAND	Diplomat of Social Science; Diplomat of Religious Education; Licentiate of Theology; Justice of the Peace; Chairman of the Bathurst Methodist District, N.S.W. Methodist Conference.
Mrs. Norma CHALMERS	Secretary, Queensland Peace Committee for International Co-operation and Disarmament.
Rev. Alfred DICKIE	Chairman of Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament, Victoria; former Moderator, Presbyterian Church, Victoria; Joliot-Curie Medal; Member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council.

William GOLLAN

B.A. (Hons.); Educationist (former high school Principal); College lecturer; author; Committee member, Association for International Co-operation and Disarmament; National Executive member, Communist Party of Australia.

Rev. Frank HARTLEY

B.A. (Hons.); B.D.; Superintendent of Prahran Methodist Mission; Life Member of Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament, Victoria; Prahran City Councillor.

Mrs. Edna HUTCHESON

Prominent Quaker; Secretary of South Australian Peace Committee.

AUSTRIA

Prof. Joseph DOBRETSBERGER

BELGIUM

Mme Isabelle BLUME

National President of the U.B.D.P.; member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council; former M.P.; Laureate of the Lenin Peace Prize; Joliot-Curie Medal; CP member.

Freddy BERARD

Regional Secretary of the U.B.D.P. (Borinage).

Dr. Marcel DELVIGNE	Director of the medico-surgical institutions of the "mutualites socialites" of Liege; Chairman of the Liege region committee of the U.B.D.P.; Vice-Chairman of the U.B.D.P.; CP member
Maurice ERRERA	Professor at the Free University of Brussels; Vice-Chairman of the U.B.D.P.
Jean GAYETOT	Responsible for foreign relations at the Belgian General Federation of Labour (Liege-Huy-Waremme region).
Mme Rosie HOLENDER	Lawyer; CP member.
Rene KLUTZ	General Secretary of the U.B.D.P.; CP member.
Ward RUYSLINCK	Writer; Vice-Director of the Cabinet des Estampes of Antwerp.
Gustaaf SCHMIDT	Barrister; member of the Bureau of the League of Christian Workers.
Andre de SMET	National Secretary of the U.B.D.P.
Father SNIJKERS	Dominican; member of the Bureau of the U.B.D.P.
BOLIVIA	
Ing. Carlos G. CARVAJAL NAVA	Vice Dean and Professor of the Faculty of Industrial Engineering, San Marcos University, La Paz.
Ing. Hugo MANSILLA ROMERO	Dean of the Engineering Faculty, San Marcos University, La Paz.

BOTSWANA

Motsamai Keyecwe MPHO

President of the
Botswana Independence
Party; journalist.

BRAZIL

Jorge Amado

Celebrated writer;
Vice-President of
Peace Partisans of
Brazil (BPP).

Dr. Joao Bellini BURZA

Psychiatrist; neuro-
physiologist; Chairman
of Latin American
Society for Progress of
Medical and Biological
Sciences; former
General Secretary of
the Brazilian Associa-
tion of Doctors for
Peace.

General Felicissimo CARDOSO

Extreme Nationalist;
founder and editor of
Emancipacao, former
Communist news sheet
for the armed forces;
Chairman of Studies
Centre for Defence of
Oil and National
Economy (CEDPEN);
supporter of front
activities.

Otto Maria CARPEAUX

Philosopher and writer.

Dr. Alfredo de Moraes
Coutinho FILHO

Doctor, writer and
publisher; President of
former Brazilian-USSR
Cultural Institute.

Antonio HOUAISS

Former Ambassador; writer.

Alvaro LINS	Former Ambassador to Portugal; member of former Brazil-Cuba Cultural Institute; Left-wing intellectual.
Prof. J. Leite LOPES	Professor of Theoretical Physics at University of Rio de Janeiro; one of many professors compulsorily retired by Brazilian Government in April, 1969.
Oscar Soares NIEMEYER	Member of WPC Presidential Committee; President of former Brazil-Cuba Cultural Institute; President of BPP; Lenin Peace Prize (1963); Brazil's leading architect.
Honorio PECANHA	Founder of Brazilian Peace Movement; celebrated sculptor.
Carlos RONCHETTI	Leading member of Brazilian Peace Movement; engineer.
Prof. Mario SCHEMBERG	Former official of Brazilian CP; former Professor of Physics at University of Sao Paulo (compulsorily retired by Brazilian Government 1969); founder of Brazilian Peace Movement.
Nelson Werneck SODRE	Retired general; well-known literary figure; historian.
Domingos Netto de VELASCO	Former member of WPC Presidential Committee; former Senator and now Federal Deputy; well-known "peace personality who has visited Russia and China; banker.

BRITAIN

Prof. Eric BURHOP

Professor of Physics.

Dr. Anthony CHATER

Scientist; Chairman of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Arthur HEWLETT
(Observer)

National Peace Council and Quakers.

Ivor MONTAGU

Writer; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.

Gordon SCHAFFER

Chairman of British Peace Committee; member of Presidential Committee of WPC; journalist; Chairman of Political Committee of London Cooperative Society; holder of Joliot-Curie Medal.

Mrs. K. TACCHI-MORRIS

President Women for Disarmament (United Nations Association).

Andrew WILSON

BULGARIA

Georgi ANDREEV

Vice-President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee; deputy; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC; Joliot-Curie Medal.

Groudi ATANASSOV

Vice-President of the National Council of the Fatherland Front; President of Vietnam Solidarity Committee; deputy.

KIRILL

Patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church; Vice-President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee.

Georgi NADJAKOV

Honorary President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee; member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; deputy.

Mrs. Paraskova PETSEVA

Secretary of the Bulgarian Peace Committee.

Georgi PIRINSKY

President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee; publicist; deputy.

Lyudmil STOYANOV

Vice-President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee; writer; deputy.

CANADA

Dr. Hans BLUMENFELD

City planner; author of "The Modern Metropolis"; holder of honorary degree by University of Montreal for his work in modern city planning.

Dr. James ENDICOTT

Chairman of Canadian Peace Council; member of Presidential Committee of WPC; active in CP matters.

Rabbi Abraham FEINBERG
D.D.LLD.

Rabbi Emeritus of Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto.

R. LALIBERTE

Chairman of Quebec Teachers' Federation.

Jean PELLETIER

Executive member of the
Parti Quebecois.

Mrs. Eva SANDERSON

School teacher; Chair-
man of the Toronto
Association for Peace;
Vice-Chairman of the
Canadian Peace Council;
CP member.

Edward SLOAN

Chairman of the Hemi-
spheric Conference;
Comite Moratoire du
Vietnam.

CEYLON

Abdoul AZIZ

General-Secretary Afro-
Asian Solidarity Associa-
tion of Ceylon; Vice-
President of Ceylon
Peace Council; President
of the Democratic Workers'
Congress (major trade
union of plantation workers
in Ceylon); CP member.

T. DURAISINGAM

Treasurer of Ceylon Peace
Council and Afro-Asian
Solidarity Association of
Ceylon; member of National
Committee of All Ceylon
Hindu Congress and Chairman
of Central Control
Commission of Communist
Party of Ceylon; CP member.

T.B. ILLANGARATNE

Minister for Foreign and
Internal Trade; writer;
President of Sri Lanka
Freedom Party; has history
of activity in Ceylon
Peace Council.

T.B. SUBASINGHE	General Secretary of Sri Lanka Freedom Party; Minister for Industries and Scientific Affairs; former Ambassador to Moscow; former Speaker of Parliament; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Rev. Medagoga SUMANATISSA	President of the All Ceylon Buddhist Conference; Director of Pirivena Institute; Vice-President of Ceylon Peace Council.
Mrs. Doreen WICKREMASINGHE	Ex-M.P.; prominent worker in the Peace Movement; CP member.
CHILE	
Dr. Salvador Gossens ALLENDE	President of Chile; Doctor of Medicine; former Senator of Socialist Party; former President of Senate.
Enrique AVENDANO	President of Federation of Chilean Peasants "Ranquil"; PCCH Central Committee member.
Dr. Alberto BALTRA	Senator of Radical Party; University Professor; Jurist.
Luis FIGUEROA	PCCH Central Committee member; President of Communist dominated Single Centre of Chilean Workers (CUTCH).

Galo GOMEZ	University Professor; Vice-Rector of the University of Concepcion.
Dr. Alejandro LIPSCHUTZ	Scientist; National Science Prize 1969; physician and anthropologist; CP member.
Dr. Abraham NAZAL	University Professor; psychologist; General Secretary of the Chilean Peace Movement; CP member.
Pablo NERUDA	Chilean Ambassador to Paris; Poet; laureate of National Prize of Literature; holder of Joliot-Curie Medal; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize; CP member.
Prof. Olga POBLETE	University Professor; President of the Chilean Peace Movement; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize.
Dr. Jose RODRIGUEZ ELIZONDO	Jurist; University Professor; General Counsel for CORFO, CP member.
Dr. Julio SILVA SOLAR	Deputy of MAPU (Move- ment of United Popular Action); lawyer.
COLOMBIA	
Dr. Rafael H. BAQUERO	Lawyer; economist; Secretary of the National Peace Council.

Julio POVEDA GUANTA	General Secretary of FEDENAGRIC (Agricultural Workers' Union).
Dr. Gerardo MOLINA	University Professor; former Rector of the National University of Colombia; President of the National Peace Council.
Roso OSORIO	Vice-President of the General Confederation of Labour of Colombia.
Dr. Horacio RODRIGUEZ PLATA	Member of the National Historical Society; Subdirector for Cultural Heritage in the Colombian Cultural Institute, Ministry for National Education; Professor of Sociology and Political History at the National University; author of several works; former Governor of the State of Santander; former National Senator.
Dr. Jose Francisco SOCARRAS	Psychiatrist; University Professor.
COSTA RICA	
Dr. Gilberto BONILLA ROJAS	Physician; laureate of National Prize of Medicine; University Professor; CP member.
Dr. Oscar MORERA MADRIGAL	Physician; CP member.
Carlos SAENZ ELIZONDO	Writer; laureate of National Prize of Literature; CP member.
Dr. Ovidio SALAZAR	University Professor; CP member.

CUBA

Dr. Vicentina ANTUNA Tavio de Carone	Director of the Faculty of Literature of Havana University; CP member.
Alejo CARPENTIER Valmont	Writer; Cultural Attache of the Cuban Embassy in France.
Dr. Eduardo CORONA Zayas	Vice-President of the Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of Peoples.
Mrs. Vilma ESPIN Guillois	President of the Cuban Union of Women; CP member.
Nicolas GUILLEN Batista	Poet; President of the Cuban Writers' and Artists' Union; CP member.
Dr. Enrique HART Ramirez	President of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice.
Dr. Melba HERNANDEZ Rodriguez del Rey	Vice-President of the Movement for Peace and the Sovereignty of Peoples; President of the South Vietnam Solidarity Committee of Cuba.
Prof. Juan MARINELLO Vidaureta	President of the Movement for Peace and the Sover- eignty of Peoples; Cuban Ambassador to UNESCO; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC; CP member.
Faustino PEREZ Hernandez	Commander of the Rebel Army; CP member.

CYPRUS

Yiango POTAMITIS

Lawyer; Member of Parliament; President of Cyprus Peace Council; member of Cyprus Bar Council.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prof. Dr. Dalibor M. KRNO

Chief of Journalists' Department of Comenius University, Bratislava.

Prof. Dr. Josef LUKAS

Chief of II. gynaecological clinic; Chairman of Czechoslovak Peace Committee; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.

Prof. Antonin STEJSKAL

Chairman of Czech Peace Council; High School teacher.

Prof. Dr. Viliam THURZO

Academician; Director of the Research Cancer-Institute, Chairman of Slovak Peace Council.

Docent Vaclav VYSOHLID

General Secretary of Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

DAHOMEY

Tahirou CONGACOU

President of the Economic and Social Council; Honorary Member of the CNPD (National Council for Peace and Development).

Dr. Badarou DAOUDA

Foreign Secretary of Dahomey; honorary member of the CNPD; Ambassador to France (13 Sept. 1971).

Honore Wilfrid FRANCEGBE

Chairman of CNPD.

DENMARK

Mrs. Esther BRINCH

Translator; Chairman of Danish Federation of Democratic Women; member of Radical Party; (former Chairman of Copenhagen Women's Commission of Radical Party); member of WILPF; member of Danish Peace Conference.

Mrs. Margit HANSEN

Accountant; member of Committee for Peace and Solidarity of Communist Party of Denmark.

Syend JENSEN

Chairman of Copenhagen branch of Building Workers' Trade Union; member of Danish Peace Conference; member of bureau of "Vietnam 69".

Johannes MUENCHOW

Chairman of Copenhagen group "Aldrig mere Krig" (no more war); collaborator for inter-nordic problems; member of bureau of Danish Peace Conference.

ECUADOR

Prof.

Gerardo CORDERO Y LEON

Rector of the State University of Cuenca; (Socialist with Communist leanings)

Leonidas CORDOVA V.

Chairman of C.T.E. (Ecuador Workers' Confederation); (Labor Party; PCE funds; PCE sympathizer)

Dr. Elias GALLEGOS ANDA

Chairman of the Democratic Popular Union; former candidate for the Presidency of the Republic; physician; Communist sympathizer; contributed to PCE.

Enrique GIL GILBERT

Writer; leader of the Communist Party of Ecuador.

FINLAND

Goran VON BONSDORFF

Professor of Political Sciences at Helsinki University.

Matti KEKKONEN

Lawyer; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.

Ensio PARTANEN

Dean of the Church.

Olavi SAARINEN

Chairman of Workers' Sport Union (TUL); General Secretary of Socialist Union.

Paavo RINTALA

Writer; Chairman of Finnish Peace Movement.

Mrs. Mirjam VIRE-TUOMINEN

B. A.; M. P. (Communist Party); Deputy of Helsinki Municipal Council; General-Secretary of Finnish Peace Movement.

FRANCE

Louis ARAGON

Writer; CP Central Committee member.

Pierre BIQUARD	Professor at the Ecole Superieure for Physics and Chemistry in Paris; Doctor of Science; Secretary-General of the World Federation of Scientific Workers; Secretary-General of the Frederic and Irene Joliot-Curie Associa- tion.
Corentin BOURVEAU	Engineer; Secretary of the French Peace Movement.
Henri CAILLAVET	Senator; former Minister.
Robert CHAMBEIRON	former M.P.
Jacques CHATAGNER	Professor (agregé); Secretary of the French Regional Committee of the Christian Peace Conference; Co-President of the Association for French-German Exchanges; Secretary of the French Peace Movement.
Yves CHOLIERE	Linotypist; former Secretary of the World Peace Council.
Pierre COT	Study Director of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes; former Minister; former M.P.; member of General Council of Savoie; President of the Inter- national Association of Democratic Lawyers; President of the Pro- gressive Union.

Mme Yves FARGE	Member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Mme Germaine GUILLE	Member of Economic and Social Council for the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour).
Raymond GUYOT	Senator; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC; very active in CP; member of CP Politburo.
Mme Georges HUISMAN	M.A.; President of the Union of French Women.
Marc JACQUIER	Barrister.
Jean LAFFITTE	Writer; former Secretary-General of the World Peace Council.
Mme Helene LANGEVIN-JOLIOT	Head of Research at the C.N.R.S. (National Centre for Scientific Research).
Jacques MADAULE	Writer; Agrege; member of the Society of Writers; Chairman of the National Writers' Committee; Chairman of the Jewish-Christian Association of France.
Roger MAYER	Administrator; member of the Steering Committee of the Frederic and Irene Joliot-Curie Association.
Jacques MITTERAND	Former M.P.
Rene ROGNON	Parson of the Reformed Church of France; Secretary of the French Peace Movement.

Louis SAILLANT	Former Secretary-General of WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions); member of Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Jean-Paul SARTRE	Writer; CP member.
Jean SCHAEFER	National Secretary of the C.G.T.; member of the Economic and Social Council.
Andre SOUQUIERE	Former Senator; General-Secretary of French Peace Movement; CP Central Committee member.
Jean VERCORS (Bruller)	Writer.
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Prof. Dr. Gunther DREFAHL	President of the GDR Peace Council; member of the GDR Research Council; member of the German Academy of Science.
Mrs. Greta KUCKOFF	Vice-President of the GDR Peace Council.
Oberkirchenrat Gerhard LOTZ	Vice-President of the GDR Peace Council.
Hans-Peter MINETTI	Actor.
Prof. Albert NORDEN	Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the S.E.D.; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Werner RUMPEL	General-Secretary of the GDR Peace Council.

Paul SCHOLZ	Chairman of the German-Arab Society; Deputy-Chairman of the Democratic German Peasant Party.
Mrs. Anna SEGHERS	Writer; President of the German Union of Writers.
Prof. Dr. Peter Alfons STEINIGER	Dean of the Department of International Law at the Humboldt University, Berlin.
Mrs. Helene WEIGEL-BRECHT	Actress; Director of the "Berliner Ensemble".
Alfred WILKE	Vice-President of GDR Peace Council; Secretary of F.D.G.B. (Free German Trade Unions).
GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC	
Wilhelm M. BREUER	Economist; lecturer at the Institute for Economy at the University of Cologne; publicist.
Mrs. Martha BUSCHMANN	Journalist; member of the Secretariat of the WPC.
Walter DIEHL	Interpreter; manager of "Society for the Furtherance of Relations between the German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union".
Prof. Clara Maria FASSBINDER	Pedagogue and writer; holder of Joliot-Curie Medal; President of West-German Women's Peace Movement and co-editor of "Frau und Frieden" (Woman and Peace).

Dr. Herbert MOCHALSKI

Formerly University
Pastor at Technical
College Darmstadt; co-
editor of bimonthly
"Stimme der Gemeinde"
(Voice of the (Church)
Community); General-
Secretary of the "Society
for the Furtherance of
Relations between the
German Federal Republic
and the Soviet Union".

D. Martin NIEMOLLER

Formerly President of
the Evangelical Church
of Hesse and Nassau and
one of the Presidents
of the World Council of
Churches; President of
the German Peace Society--
War Resisters' International
(DFG-IDK); member of the
Presidential Committee
of the WPC; Laureate of
the Lenin Peace Prize;
holder of Joliot-Curie
Medal.

Dr. Hannelis SCHULTE

Federal President of
DFG-IDK; parson and teacher
of religious instruction;
Campaign for Democracy
and Disarmament.

Dieter SUVERKRUP

Graphic artist; singer
and text writer of protest
songs; author of TV and
radio programmes.

Mrs. Grit WEISBERG

President of West German
Women's Peace Movement
of Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Heinrich WERNER

Parson; federal manager of
German Peace Union.

Dr. Erich WULF

Physician at the University Hospital of Giesen; formerly physician in South Vietnam.

Otto ZIMPELMANN

Skilled worker (Chemistry); shop steward in Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik (Ludwigshafen); delegate at International Union of Chemistry, Paper and Ceramics Workers; member of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Germany.

GREECE

George ATHANASIADIS

Professor of Philosophy; member of Central Committee of Association of Organizations of Greek Political Refugees; Communist.

Ioannis DELLAGRAMMATIKAS

Economist; member of resistance movements during the war; Vice-President of Associations of Greek Political Refugees; Communist; resides in Hungary.

Vasilis EFREMIDIS

Lawyer; former M.P. of EDA and member of Executive Committee; CP member.

Vlassis MOUCHTARIS

Lawyer; Chairman of Association of Greek Communities in GFR; Communist; lives in West Germany.

GUATEMALA

Miguel Angel ASTURIAS

Writer; laureate of Nobel Prize in literature; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize; Ambassador of Guatemala in France.

Luis CARDOZA Y ARAGON

Writer; art critic; former Ambassador.

GUINEA

Camara DAMANTANG

Foreign Minister of the Republic of Guinea; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.

Abdoulaye DIALLO

Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Keita KABA

Member of the National Committee of the J.R.D.A. (Youth Movement of the African Democratic Union).

Kaba SEKOU

Member of the National Committee of the Guinean Workers.

GUINEA BISSAU

Amilcar CABRAL

General Secretary of P.A.I.G.C. (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde).

GUYANA

Khemray BHAGWANDIN

Barrister-at-Law;
former Officer-in-
Charge, British
Guiana Government
Office in London;
Chairman, Guyana Hindu
Youth Organization.

Dr. Cheddi JAGAN

M.P.; former Prime
Minister; leader of
People's Progressive
Party; member of
Presidential Committee
of World Peace Council;
admitted Communist.

Reepu Daman PERSAUD

M.P.; General Secretary
of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

Mrs. Philomena SAHOYE

M.P.; Senior Vice-
President of the Guyana
Agricultural Workers'
Union; President,
Women's Progressive
Organization; member
Secretariat of People's
Progressive Party.

HUNGARY

Mrs. Janos BUGAR

M.P.; Secretary of the
Foreign Affairs Committee
in Parliament; Vice-
Secretary-General of the
Patriotic People's Front;
member of the C.C. of the
Hungarian Socialist
Workers' Party and of the
Presidium of the
Hungarian TUC (Trade
Union Congress); of the
Hungarian Peace Council
and of the National Council
of the Hungarian Women's
Federation.

Miklos HUBAY	Writer; laureate of Joszef Attila Prize for Literature (1955 and 1965).
Dr. Zoltan KALDY	Senior leading Bishop of the Lutheran Church in Hungary; Vice-President of Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches; member of Central Committee of the World Council of Churches; member of Stewardship Committee of Lutheran World Federation.
Dr. Magda RADNOT	University Professor; holder of the title "Distinguished Physician"; member of Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
Dr. Laszlo RECZEI	Ambassador; University Professor; Vice-President of the Hungarian Peace Council; member of the UN Commission of International Commercial Law.
Mrs. Nandor SEBESTYEN	Member of the National Council of the Patriotic Popular Front; Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council.
Dr. Endro SIK	Former Foreign Minister; President of the Hungarian Peace Council; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC; State Prize historian; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize.

INDIA

Dr. Mulk Raj ANAND	President of the Lalit Kala Academy (Fine Arts Academy); Editor of "Marg"; writer.
Arjun ARORA	M.P. (Congress Party); President of All-India Press Workers' Union; member of Indian Council for World Affairs.
Mrs. Aruna ASAF ALI	President of National Federation of Indian Women; leader of Indian freedom movement; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize.
Bejoy BANERJEE	M.L.A.; former Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly; former Mayor of Calcutta.
Chitta BASU	M.P. (Forward Bloc).
Chitta BISWAS	General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council.
Diwan CHAMAN LALL	Former Indian Ambassador; former member of the Central Legislative Council.
Romesh CHANDRA	Secretary-General of the World Peace Council; laureate of the Lenin Peace Prize; holder of the Joliot-Curie Medal; member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council.
A.S.R. CHARI	Senior Advocate of Supreme Court of India.

S.A. DANGE	M.P., General Secretary of All-India Trade Union Congress; Chairman of the Pro-Soviet CP of India.
K.R. GANESH	M.P. (Congress Party); former member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations. Deputy Minister of the Government of India.
Mrs. Litto GHOSH	General Secretary of ISCUS (Indo-Soviet Cultural Society); former Secretary of the World Peace Council.
Vavilala GOPALAKRISHNAYYA	Member of the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh (Independent).
Bhupesh GUPTA	M.P.; Leader of the Communist Group in the Indian Parliament; editor of "New Age"; member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of India.
Binodanand JHA	Former Chief Minister of Bihar; leader of Loktantrik Dal (Democratic Party).
S.M. JOSHI	M.P.; former President S.S.P (United Socialist Party).
Akbar Ali KHAN	M.P. (Congress Party).
R.K. KARANJIA	Editor of CP publication "Blitz" (largest circulated Indian weekly).

K.D. MALAVIYA	Former Minister of Central Government; former M.P.; member of All-India Congress Committee; President of Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
K.P.S. MENON	President of the National Council of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society; former Ambassador.
V.K. Krishna MENON	M.P.; President of Honor of the WPC; Chairman of the International Conference of Support to the Arab Peoples; former Defense Minister.
Vivekananda MUKHERJI	Editor of "Basumati" (Calcutta daily); former President of Federation of Indian Working Journalists.
Gurmukh Singh MUSAFIR	M.P. (Congress Party); Punjabi poet; former Chief Minister of Punjab State.
Amrit NAHATA	M.P. (Congress Party).
Maharaj Satguru Jagjit Singh NAMDHARI	Head of the Namdhari Community (religious sect spread over the whole of South-East Asian and East Africa.)
O.P. PALIWAL	Journalist; General Secretary of the All-India Peace Council; former Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

G. RAMACHANDRAN

M.P.; Secretary of the
Gandhi Peace Foundation.

Satyajit RAY

Film director; painter.

Rana Jang Bahadur SINGH

Former editor of "Times
of India"; President of
Delhi State Peace Council.

Amarnath VIDYALANKAR

Former Minister of the
State of Punjab; Chairman
of All-India Congress
Forum for Socialist Action.

Chandrajit YADAV

M.P. and member of Working
Committee of the Indian
National Congress.

IRAN

Prof. Bozorg ALAVI

Writer; one of the Founders
of Iranian CP (Tudeh);
probably lives in East
Germany.

Prof. Rajabali KHORB

Graduate of Philosophy
and Pedagogics; former
member of National UNESCO
Commission in Iran; at
present Visiting Honorary
Professor for Persian
Language and Literature
at Martin Luther University
at Halle-Wittenberg.

Dr. Davoud NOROUZI

Jurist; Doctor of Political
Science; Scientific
Researcher at Berlin
Academy of Sciences; mem-
ber of Central Committee
of CP; probably lives in
East Germany.

IRAQ

Amr ABDULLAH
(Amer ABDALLAH)

Lawyer; Communist Party.

Nuri abd-al-Razzaq HUSAYN
(Nouri ABDELRAZZAK)

Former Secretary-General
of the International
Union of Students;
Communist.

abd-al-Rahim Muhsin AJINAH
(Rahim AJINEH)

Doctor of Medicine; CP.

Salah Umar al-ALI
(Salah Omar EL-ALI)

Member of the Regional
Leadership of the Ba'ath
Socialist Arab Party; in
exile in Beirut as of
July 1970.

Mounzer AREIN

Ba'ath Socialist Arab Party.

Nuri Sadiq SHAWLS
(Nouri Sadik CHAWICH)

Minister for Public Works
and Housing; member of the
Political Bureau of the
Democratic Party of
Kurdistan.

Murtada Sa'id al-HADITHI
(Mourtada Said EL-HADITHY)

Member of the Revolution
Council Command; member
of the Regional Leadership
of the Ba'ath Socialist
Arab Party; Minister of
Economy.

Yusuf al-HAJJ ILYAS
(Youssef EL-HADJ ELIAS)

Lawyer; National Demo-
cratic Party.

Safa al-HAFIZ
(Safa EL-HAFEZ)

Doctor of Laws; Assistant
Professor in the Faculty
of Law of the Bagdad
University; CP.

Nafidh JALAL, aka Nafidh JALAL Huwayzi (Nafez JALAL)	Minister for Agriculture.
Ghanim ABD-AL-JALIL (Ghanem ABDEL JALIL)	Ba'ath Socialist Arab Party; as of January 1971 Governor of Dirjalah
Muhammad MADHI (Mohamed Mehdi AL-JAWAHIRI)	Arab Poet; President of the Writers' Union; Communist.
Abd-Al-Wahhab MAHMUD (Abdel Wahab MAHMOUD)	President of the Bar Association; Communist
Dr. Izzat MUSTAFA (Azzat MOUSTAPHA)	Member of the Revolution Council Command; Minister for Health; member of the Regional Leadership of the Ba'ath Socialist Arab Party.
Abdallah NASRAWI	Arab Socialist Movement.
Hamid SAID	Ba'ath Socialist Arab Party.
Aziz SHARIF	Secretary-General of Move- ment for Peace and Soli- darity with the Peoples; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize; Member of the WPC Presidential Committee; as of August 1971 Minister of State.
Mukarram TALIBANI (Moukarram TALABANI)	Judge in Civil Courts of Iraq as of 2 April 1970; CP.
Dara TAWFIQ (Dara TOUFIC)	Engineer; member of Kurdish Democratic Party.

Salih Abdullah AL-YUSUFI
(Salah EL-YOUSSFI)

Minister of State; member
of the Political Bureau
of the Democratic Party
of Kurdistan.

ISRAEL

Mordechai AVI-SHAUL

Writer and member of the
national council of the
Israel-USSR Friendship
Movement.

Shlomo DERECH

Political secretary of
Achdut Avoda, a small
socialist labor party now
a member of the government
alignment, and editor of
its organ Lamerchav; has
published a number of books
and articles on socialism,
and attended previous
World Peace Council meetings.

Wolf ERLICH

Lawyer; leader of RAKAH
(new CP).

Eliezer HALEVI

Official of HISTADRUT
(General Federation of
Labor); Israeli represen-
tative to Moscow Disarma-
ment and Peace Congress in
1962.

Jacob MAJUS

Central Committee member,
MAPAM (United Workers
Party).

Yaari MEIR

MAPAM leader.

Abraham SHLONSKY

Member of editorial board
of Al Hamishmar, MAPAM
newspaper. (1962)

Tewfiq TOUBI

Communist (RAKAH) repre-
sentative in Knesset.

Esther VILENSKA

Formerly a MAKI (Israel CP); member of the Knesset; member of Movement for Peace and Security (May 1970).

ITALY

Gian Mario ALBANI

Senator (Independent); Catholic, Secretary of Senatorial Commission for Labour and Social Security.

Mrs. Elvira BADARACCO

Professor; Member of the Milan Committee of the P.S.I. (Italian Socialist Party); member of the Bureau of the U.D.I. (Italian Women's Union).

Ugo BARTESAGHI

M.P.; member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Italian Parliament; CP member.

Selvino BIGI

Trade Union leader; Vice-President of the National Peasants' Association.

Sergio BOCHICCHIO

Jurist; Chief Clerk at the Audit Office.

Mrs. Valeria BONAZZOLA RUHL

Ph. D., Senator; member of the Senate Commission for Public Instruction; CP member.

Franco CALAMANDREI

Journalist; Senator; member of the Central Committee of the Italian CP; member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission; CP member.

Luigi CABALIERI	Jurist; Advocate at the Supreme Court of Appeal; member of the National Bureau of the Italian Association of Democratic Jurists; member of far left Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP).
Guido FANTI	Former Mayor of Bologna; President of the regional government of Emilia-Romagna; member of the National Bureau of the Italian CP; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Giovanni FAVILLI	Professor; Director of the Institute for General Pathology at Bologna University; Vice Mayor of Bologna.
Mrs. Dina FORTI	Publicist; political functionary in the Central Committee of the Italian CP (foreign sector).
Andrea GAGGERO	Member of the Executive Committee of the I.C.D.P. (International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace); laureate of Lenin Peace Prize; Secretary General of Italian Peace Committee.
Giorgio GIOVANNONI	Ph. D. ; journalist; editor of "Note di Cultura".

Giangiacomo LATTANZI

Lawyer; M.P.; member of the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity; Secretary of the Commission on Finance of Parliament.

Lucio LUZZATTO

Lawyer; Vice-President of Parliament; member of the Bureau of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity; member of Presidential Committee of WPC; laureate of Joliot-Curie Medal.

Mrs. Lidia MENAPACE

Professor at Milan University; member of the National Bureau of the Italian Women's Union.

Luciano MENCARAGLIA

Professor; former member of the Senate Presidium; President of the Council of the Province of Siena; member of the Secretariat of the WPC; former head of the Italian Peace Committee.

Alessandro MENCHINELLI

Senator; member of the Bureau of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity; member of the Senate Commission for Public Health.

Cesare MUSATTI

Professor at Milan University; President of the Italian Society of Scientific Psychology.

Mrs. Marisa PASSIGLI	Member of the National Bureau of the Italian Women's Union; member of the C.C. of the PSIUP (Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity).
Luigi PASSONI	M.P.; Doctor of Economics; member of the State Budget Commission of Parliament; member of far-left Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity.
Antonio PESENTI	Economist; Professor of Financial Science and Financial Law at Pavia University.
Mario PRIMICERIO	Professor at Florence University; member of the "Circolo di Cultura" of Florence.
Umberto TERRACINI	Lawyer; Senator; Chairman of the P.C.I. group in the Senate; former President of the Constituent Assembly; CP member.
Cesare ZAVATTINI	Writer; film director; member of the Presidium of the Italian-Soviet Friendship Association; International Peace Prize.
JAPAN	
Prof. Kozo ABE	Professor of Western History at Tokyo Metropolitan University.
Tomohi ABE	Novelist.

Ichio ASUKATA	Mayor of Yokohama; lawyer.
Masaharu HATANAKA	Director of Japan-Korea Association.
Dr. Yoshitaro HIRANO	President of Japan Peace Committee; former member of Parliament; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Kakuo HONJO	President of all Construction Ministry Workers' Union
Makoto HORI	Chairman of Japan Peace Committee.
Miss Ayako ISHII	Presidium Member of New Japan Women's Association; Official, JCP Director, Japan-Korea Society.
Mrs. Fuki KUSHIDA	President of Japanese Federation of Women's Organizations.
Prof. Hajime MATSUURA	Biologist; Honorary Professor at Hokkaido University; contributor to CP publication "Akahata".
Rev. Shojun MIBU	Buddhist Priest.
Prof. Seiya MUNAKATA	Professor of Education, Tokyo University.
Kaoru OTA	Former President of CAHYO
Mrs. Ryuko OYAMA	Vice-President, Japan Peace Committee.

Prof. Shoichi SAKATA	Professor of Nuclear Physics at Nagoya University; active in Gensuikyo, critical of JCP-CCP split.
Prof. Kiyoshi SAKUMA	Prof. of Physics, Hiroshima University.
Mrs. Akiko SEKI	President of the Movement "Singing Voices of Japan"; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize; JCP member
Kanejiro SENAGA	President of Okinawa People's Party.
Prof. Hiroshi SUEKAWA	Rector of Ritsumeikan University.
Shinichi TAKAHASHI	Historian; member of Science Council of Japan; President Tokyo Peace Committee; Akahata contributor.
Kiyoomi TAMAN	Lawyer.
Satsuo YAMAMOTO	Cinema producer.
Dr. Kenjuro YANAGIDA	Philosopher; President of Association for Education of Workers.
Dr. Kaoru YASUI	Professor of International Law at Hosei University.
Itaru YONEHARA	Presidium member; Japan CP.
Kinnosuke YOSHIMURA	President of Democratic Youth Federation of Japan.
PERMANENT OBSERVERS	
Rev. Nitatsu FUJII	Buddhist Priest.

Prof. Tsugimaru IMANAKA	Honorary Professor of Saga University.
Torazo NINAGAWA	Governor of Kyoto Prefecture.
Tadayoski OBATA	Lawyer.
Rev. Ryokei OHNISHI	Buddhist Priest; Presi- dent of Japan Religionists' Council for Peace.
JORDAN	
Sulayman NABULSI (H.E. Suleiman NABULSY)	Former Prime Minister; Senator; Chairman, National Front of Jordan; Secretary-General National Peace Council; Chairman Jerusalem Liberation Committee.
Isa MADANAT (Issa MDANAT)	Secretary National Peace Council; CP Politburo member.
DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA	
PAK Chong-Ae (Jeung Ai PAK)	
KANG Yang-Uk (Ryang Ouk KANG)	Member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
YI Ki-Yong (Gui Yeung RI)	
SO Chol (Tchel SE)	
CHO Chin-Suk (Jim Souk JO)	

KIM Sang-Chun
(Sang Joun KIM)

YI Yong-Sik
(Yong Sik RI)

YI Kyong-Suk
(Kieung Souk RI)

CHON Chang-Chol
(Tchang Tchel JEUN)

YI Chong-Chol
(Jong Tchol RI)

LEBANON

Sheik Abdallah AL-AYYALI
(Sheik Abdallah ALAYII)

Linguist.

Georges ABU-CHAAR
(Georges ABOU-CHAAR)

Architect.

Dr. Hashim AL-HUSAYNI
(Dr. Hachem El-HUSSEINI)

M.P.; President of
the Lebanese Peace
Movement.

Kamal JUMBLATT

M.P.; Former Minister
of Interior.

Farrukh MASARANI
(Farouk MASSARANY)

Lawyer; General-Secretary
of the Lebanese Peace
Movement; member of the
Presidential Committee
of the WPC.

Karim MURUWWA
(Karim MROUE)

Journalist.

Maruf SAD
(Maarouf SAAD)

M.P.

MADAGASCAR

Richard ANDRIAMANJATO

M.P.; Chairman of the Municipal Council of Tananarive; Co-President of the Madagascar Peace Committee; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.

Rev. Jean RABEMANAHAKA

Member of the Church of Christ of Madagascar.

Mlle Gisele RABESAHALA

General-Secretary of the Solidarity Committee of Madagascar; General-Secretary of A.K.F.M. (Congress Independence Party of Madagascar).

Henri RAKOTOBE

Co-President of the Madagascar Peace Committee; President of the Solidarity Committee of Madagascar.

Dr. Charles RANDRIANANJA

Physician; Chairman of the National Society of Physicians.

Arsene RATSIFEHERA

Member of the Municipal Council of Tananarive; Secretary of the Madagascar Press Trade Union; General-Secretary of the Madagascar Peace Committee.

Dr. Jean RATSIVAHINY

Physician; Secretary of the Union of Qualified Physicians of Tananarive.

MALI

Bougary SACKO

Vice-President of Mali Committee of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization.

Cheick SACKO	Secretary of the Mali Peace Movement.
Sekou SOUMANO	General-Secretary of the Mali Peace Movement.
Abdoulaye SOW	President of the Mali Peace Movement.
Samov TOURE	General-Secretary of Mali Committee of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Or- ganization.
MAURITIUS	
Agness CHAKOWA	Student.
Leetooraj CHUNDRAMUN	Member of the Municipal Council; Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mauritius.
Dr. Vivekand DEONARAIN	
Beeshamsingh DOORGA	
Mrs. Ghislaine Chan FOCK	General Secretary of Mauritius Peace Council; Chairman of the Mauritius Women's Committee.
Guy Renard Desire FRANCOIS	
Rajan NEPAUL	Civil Engineer.
Satyanund PELLADOAH	
MEXICO	
David ALFARO SIQUEIROS	Painter; Laureate of Lenin Peace Prize
General Lazaro CARDENAS	General; former Presi- dent of the Republic of Mexico; Honorary Presi- dent of the WPC.

Arturo ORONA

Leader of Peasant Movement.

MONGOLIA

Choiijilyn CHIMID

*Chairman of the Mongolian
Peace Committee.

Erdenebattyn OYUUN
(Erdenbatyn OYUN)

*Member of the Presidium
of the Mongolian Peace
Committee.

Badzaryn SHIRENDEV
(Bazaryn SHIRENDEV)

*President Mongolian
Academy of Science;
President of National
Assembly; member of the
Presidium of the Mongolian
Peace Committee; CP
member.

Dundogyn TSEBEGMID
(Doudogyn TESVEGMID)

*Member of the Presidium
of the Mongolian Peace
Committee.

*All members of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party.

MOZAMBIQUE

Moises Machel SAMORA

Member of the Presidential
Council of FRELIMO (Front
for the Liberation of
Mozambique).

Marcelino DOS SANTOS

Member of the Presidential
Council of FRELIMO; member
of the Presidential Committee
of the WPC.

NAMIBIA

Sam NUJOMA

SWAPO (South West African
Peoples' Organization).

NEPAL

Nilambar ACHARYA	Journalist; Secretary, Nepal World Peace Pro- motion Committee.
Bhikshu AMRITANANDA	Buddhist leader.
Ramhari SHARMA	President, Nepal World Peace Promotion Committee.
Krishna Prasad SHRESHTA	Writer, CP member.

NICARAGUA

Dr. Rosendo ARGUELLO	Doctor of Medicine; political leader; involved with high- level Costa Rican CP members.
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NIGERIA

Okunola ADEBAYO	Public figure; Minister of former Western Nigeria Government.
Yerima BALLA	Commissioner for Community Development, North East State.
Peter A. Curtis JOSEPH	Businessman; freelance writer.
Akin Olubeye SIKUADE	Legal Practitioner.
Alhaji S.A. Tanko YAKASSAI	Commissioner for Information, Kano State.

NORWAY

Pastor Ragnar FORBECH

Prof. Dr. Gustorm GJESSING

Dr. Nic STANG

PAKISTAN

Ali AKSAD

General Secretary, East Pakistan Peace Committee; journalist; News Editor of Daily Sanghad, Dacca; Executive Committee member, East Pakistan Union of Journalists, Dacca; CP member.

Faiz Ahmad FAIZ

Poet; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize.

Ataur RAHMAN KHAN

President, East Pakistan Peace Committee; President, National League of Pakistan; Advocate at the Supreme Court of Pakistan; Chief Minister of East Pakistan; probably CP member.

PALESTINE

Dr. Haidar ABD-AL-SHAFI
(Dr. Haidar ABD EL SHAFEI)

Head of the United National Front of Gaza.

Yasir AMR
(Yasser AMRO)

Member Palestinian National Council.

Ibrahim AWDA
(Ibrahim AUDEH)

Teacher

Abd-al-Rahman AWADALLAH
(Abdelrahman AWADALLAH)

National United Front of Gaza.

Khalid FAHUM
(Khaled FAHOUM)

Member of the Planning
Centre; member of the
National Council of the
Palestinian Liberation
Organization.

Yahya HAMMUDA
(Yahya HAMMUDEH)

Member of the Palestinian
National Council.

Abd-al-Karim KARMI
(Abdel Karim KARME)

Poet; Secretary Palestine
Peace Committee.

Dr. Nadim NAHWI
(Dr. Nadim NAHAOUI)

Doctor of Medicine.

Jamal SURANI
(Jamal SOURANI)

Representative of the PLO
in the U.A.R.; member of
the National Council.

Colonel Hussam al-Din TAHBUB
(Colonel Houssam El-Din
TAHBOUB)

Palestine Liberation
Army.

PANAMA

Ramon DIAZ DIAZ

Now peasant leader; 201-
from labor leader; CP
leader.

Nathaniel HILL ARBOLEDA

Journalist; businessman;
Finance Secretary CP 1967.

P. Adriano MONTALVAN

Builder; member CP fronts-
1969.

Carlos Jeronimo NUNEZ

Leader of student move-
ment; 201-Acting Secretary
Finance CP 1967.

Dr. Camilo Octavio PEREZ

Lawyer; Professor;
sympathizer CP 1967.

PARAGUAY

Jose Asuncion FLORES Musician; composer.

Elvio ROMERO Poet.

PERU

Dr. Asuncion CABALLERO
MENDEZ Doctor of Medicine;
Co-President of Move-
ment for National
Sovereignty, Inter-
national Solidarity and
World Peace; member of
pro-Soviet CP of Peru.

Benjamin DOIG Co-President of Move-
ment for National
Sovereignty, Inter-
national Solidarity
and World Peace.

Isidoro GAMARRA Chairman of Communist-
controlled C.G.T.P.
(Peru General Confed-
eration of Labour);
member of Central Com-
mittee pro-Soviet CP
of Peru.

Francisco MONCLOA Journalist; leader of
the "Unity of the Left".

Dr. Ezequiel Ramirez NOVOA Lawyer; publicist; leader
of Movement for the De-
fense of Peruvian Petrol
and National Wealth;
Co-President of the
Movement for National
Sovereignty, Interna-
tional Solidarity and
World Peace.

Dr. Hugo PESCE	Scientist; member of Peruvian Academy of Medicine; member of pro-Soviet CP of Peru.
POLAND	
Prof. Jerzy BUKOWSKI	Former Rector of the Poly-technical Institute of Warsaw; Vice-President of the Polish Peace Committee.
Prof. Boleslaw IWASZKIEWICZ	M.P.; Professor at the Poly-technical Institute of Wroclaw; member of the Presidential Committee of the Polish Peace Committee; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.
Jaroslav IWASZKIEWICZ	M.P.; President of Polish Writers' Association; Vice-President of the Polish Peace Committee; laureate of Lenin Peace Prize.
Wincenty KRASKO	M.P.; Vice-President of Polish Peace Committee; head of Cultural Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.
Prof. Stanislaw KULCZYNSKI	M.P.; President of the Polish Peace Committee.
Jozef OZGA-MICHALSKI	Member of the State Council; Vice-President of the Executive Committee of the United Peasants' Party; Vice-President of the Polish Peace Committee.

Stanislaw TREPCZYNSKI

Economist.

Czeslaw WISNIEWKI

Vice-Minister of Culture
and Art.

Emil WOJTASZEK

Economist.

PORTUGAL

Vasco de MAGALHAES-VILHENA

Former Professor of
Philosophy at the
University of Coimbra;
Docteur es Lettres;
writer; President of the
Portuguese Peace Move-
ment.

Silas CERQUEIRA

Research Worker at Paris
University (Political
Science).

PUERTO RICO

Juan Mari BRAS

Lawyer; Secretary-General
of Independence Movement
of Puerto Rico.

Jose Enamorado CUESTA

Writer; journalist.

Dra. Loida FIGUEROA

Professor of History at
Puerto Rico University;
author of "A Brief History
of Puerto Rico"; leader
of Movement for the
Independence of Puerto
Rico in Majaguez; member of
Executive Committee of
Puerto Rico Peace Council.

REUNION

Dr. Christian DAMBREVILLE

Physician; member of
Reunion Presidential
Committee for Peace, against
Colonialism and Imperia-
lism.

Bruny PAYET	Journalist; member of Reunion Presidential Committee for Peace, against Colonialism and Imperialism.
ROMANIA	
Ion CARJE	Journalist; Chief Editor of "Lumea"; Secretary of Romanian Peace Committee and member of its Bureau.
Nestor IGNAT	Journalist; Chairman of Romanian Journalists' Union; member of Bureau of Romanian Peace Committee.
D. Tudor IONESCU	University Professor; Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy; Chairman of the Romanian Peace Committee.
Jean LIVESCU	University Professor; Corresponding Member of the Academy; Rector of the University of Bucharest; member of the Bureau of the Romanian Peace Committee.
Mrs. Sanda RANGHET	Professor; Secretary of the Romanian Peace Committee and member of its Bureau.
SENEGAL	
Gorgui N'DENE N'DAO	President of Senegal Peace Movement.
Bbacar DIOP	M.P.

Alioune Badara FALL	Director of the House of Youth and Culture; General Secretary of Senegal Peace Movement; active in Communist and Communist front activities.
Dr. Samba GUEYE	Physician; Mayor of Dakar; First Vice-President of the National Assembly; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.
Moustapha NIASS	Director of Information.
Abdel Kader SABARA	Treasurer of Senegal Peace Movement.
Boubacar SECK	Chief of Cabinet; Chairman of the Municipal Council of Dakar.
SOUTH AFRICA	
Mrs. Hilda BERNSTEIN	Writer; (African National Congress).
Dr. Yussuf DADOO	Vice-Chairman, Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress.
J.B. MARKS	Treasurer, African National Congress.
Oliver TAMBO	President, African National Congress; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.
SPAIN	
Salvador ARANA	Writer.

Angel DOMINGUEZ

Employee; former Secretary of WPC.

Enrique LISTER

General; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC; holder of Joliot-Curie Medal; CP member of pro-Soviet faction.

Pablo PICASSO

Painter; Honorary President of WPC.

Ricardo SALVAT

Theatre Director.

* Membership as of 1970. As of late 1971, membership of Spanish delegation under dispute.

SUDAN

Hassan al AMIN AL-SALAH
(Hassan EL AMINE ELSALEH)

Ambassador; Member of the Bureau of the Sudanese Peace Movement; former Secretary of WPC.

Fawzi al tum MANSUR
(Fawzi EL-Tom MANSOUR)

Member of the Sudan Bar Association; former Judge.

Ahmad SULAYMAN
(Ahmed SULEIMAN)

Minister; member of the Sudanese Bar Association; former Minister of Agriculture; former SCP member; Politburo member; Minister of Industries and Mining.

Ibrahim Yusuf SULAYMAN
(Ibrahim Yousef SULEIMAN)

Former member of the
Supreme Sovereignty
Council of the Republic
of Sudan.

Dr. AL TAHIR ABD AL-RAHMAN
(Dr. EL TAHER ABD EL RAHMAN)

Chairman of Sudanese
Medical Association.

Dr. AL TIJANI AL-MAHI
(Dr. EL-TIGANI EL-MAHI)

Professor at Sudan
University; former
member of the Supreme
Sovereignty Council.

SWEDEN

Dr. Andrea ANDREEN

Sven HECTOR

Inge GUNNAR

Arthur LUNDQUIST

Wide SVENSSON

SWITZERLAND

Jean FAHRNI

Member of the Geneva
Municipal Council; mem-
ber of the Swiss Peace
Movement and of the
National Committee of
the Movement Against
Nuclear Weapons.

Jacques MUHLETHALER

President of the World
Association "Ecole
Instrument de la Paix".

Arthur VILLARD

M.P. (Socialist Party);
Swiss President of the
War Resisters' Inter-
national.

Jean ZIEGLER	Prof. of History.
SYRIA	
Ahmad ABD-AL-KARIM (Ahmed ABDELKARIM)	Former Minister; Syrian Ambassador in Belgrade.
Muhammad ALI ADI (Mohammed ALI ADI)	Former M.P.
Mustapha AMIN (Mustapha AMINE)	Lawyer; member of the Bureau of the Syrian Peace Movement.
Suhayl GHAZI (Souheil GAZI)	Minister of Culture.
Mustapha HAMDUN (Mustapha HAMDOUN)	Former Minister.
Ibrahim HAMZAWI (Ibrahim HAMZAUI)	Minister of Justice.
Omar QACHAQCHI (Omar KACHACHE)	Vice-President, Syrian Printers' Trade Union.
Fuad QADRI (Fouad KADRI)	Former M.P.
Murad QUWWATLI (Mourad KOUATLY)	Engineer; General Secretary of Syrian Peace Movement; member of Presidential Committee of WPC.
Nazim MOUSS	University Professor.
Nuri RIFAI	Lawyer.

Varouj SALATIAN
(Varoujan SALATIAN)

Civil engineer; Secretary of WPC.

TUNISIA

Sliman BEN SLIMAN

Physician; Chairman of the Committee for Peace and Freedom.

Nouredine BOUARROUJ

Head of the Works Department of the Tunis Faculty of Agronomy; known Communist.

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Mrs. Malak ABD-AL-AZIZ
(Mrs. Malak ABDELAZIZ)

Poet; Editor in chief of "El Chark" monthly.

Ihsan ABD-AL-QUDDUS
(Ihsan ABDEL KADDOUS)

Chief Editor of the weekly review "Akhbar el Youm"; novelist.

Muhammad ABU-NUSAYR
(Mohamed ABOU NSEIR)

Former Minister of Justice.

Mrs. Hikmat ABU-ZAYD
(Mrs. Hikmat ABOU ZEID)

Member of the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union; former Minister; University Professor.

Tahir ABU-ZAYD
(Taher ABOU ZEID)

Director of Middle East Broadcasting.

Abd-Al-Halim Al-ASSAR (Abdel Halim El ASSAR)	Leader of the popular resistance movement in the city of Alexandria.
Ahmad BAHA-AL-DIN (Ahmed BAHAEDDINE)	President of the Admin- istrative Council of the "Dar el Hilal" Publishing House.
Abd-Al-Latif BALTIYAH (Abdellatih BALTIYEH)	President of the General Union of Workers' Trade Unions; Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly; Minister of Labor.
Mrs. Ingi AFFLATUN (Mrs. Ingi EFFLATOUN)	Painter.
Hussein FAHMI	Chief Editor of the daily "Al Akhbar".
Husayn FAWZI (Hussein FAWZI)	Writer; former deputy Minister.
Fawzi HAMZA	Lawyer; Secretary of the Alexandria Peace Committee.
Kamil-Al-Din HANNAWI (Kamel el-dine HANNAWI)	Former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly; Secretary-General of the International Conference of Parliamentarians on the Middle East.
Salah HIDAYAT (Salah HADAIAT)	Former Minister of Scientific Research; President of the UAR Federation of Scientists and adviser to the Presi- dent of the Republic on Scientific Affairs; Chairman, Scientific Workers' Associa- tion of the Middle East.

Salah JAHIN

Poet; caricaturist.

Sabri Al-QADI
(Sabri EL KADI)

M.P.; member of the
permanent secretariat
of the UAR Peace Council.

Ahmad Al-KHAWAJA
(Ahmed EL-KHAWAGA)

President of the Union
of Arab Lawyers; Presi-
dent of the UAR Lawyers'
Association; M.P.; mem-
ber of C.C. of the Arab
Socialist Union.

Said KHAYAL

Retired judge.

Lutfi Al-KHULI
(Loutfi EL KHOLI)

Journalist.

Khalid MUHYI-AL-DIN
(Khaled MOHEI EL DIN)

UAR Peace Council; M.P.;
Member of Central Com-
mittee of the Arab Socia-
list Union; one of the
founders of the "Free
Officers" movement which
started the revolution of
July 23, 1952; known as
the "Red Major"; member
of WPC Presidential
Committee; laureate of
Lenin Peace Prize.

Najib MAHFUZ
(Naguib MAHFOUZ)

Writer.

Mrs. Ceza NABARAWI
(Mrs. Ceza NABARAOUI)

Honorary president of
the W.I.D.F and one of
the founders of the
women's movement in
Egypt.

Ahmad UTHMAN (Ahmed OSMAN)	Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the Alexandria University.
Mrs. Amina SAID	Editor-in-Chief of the Review "Hawah".
Dr. Rifa't Al-SAID (Dr. Rifaat El SAID)	Publicist; historian.
Fawzi SAYYID (Fawzi SAYYED)	Secretary-General of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.
William SULAYMAN (William SULEIMAN)	Assistant Councillor of the Council of State.
URUGUAY	
Prof. J. BENTANCOURT DIAZ	Professor of Philosophy; Chairman of the National Peace Committee.
Mario GARCIA DOBAL	Secretary of the Peace Committee.
Dr. Walther A. PEREZ	Lawyer; Secretary of the Peace Movement.
Dr. Oscar MAGGIOLO	Engineer; Rector of the National University.
Dr. Edmundo B. SOARES NETTO U.S.A.	M.P.; Lawyer.
Dr. Herbert APTHEKER	University Professor; historian; member of WPC Presidential Committee.

Mrs. Angie DICKERSON	Co-Chairman of Emergency Conference to End Repression.
Mrs. Madeline DUCKLES	Women Strike for Peace - West Coast; Committee of the Concerned.
Stanley FAULKNER	Attorney.
Dr. Carlton GOODLETT	Physician; publisher; Chairman of Committee for International Peace Action; New Mobilization - West; member of WPC Presidential Committee.
Martin HALL	Writer; member of Executive Committee of Peace Action Council of Southern California; member of American Academy of Political Sciences.
Mrs. Sylvia KISHNER	Secretary-Treasurer of Chicago Peace Council; New Mobilization Committee.
Mrs. Mary Louise LOVETT	New Mobilization - West; San Francisco.
Rev. Ray MICKLETHUN	University Christian Peace Movement.
Rev. Richard MORFORD	N.C.A.S.F. (National Council for American-Soviet Friendship).
Mrs. Pauline ROSEN	Women Strike for Peace (New York).

Irving SARNOFF	Railroad mechanic; Chairman of Peace Action Council of Southern California; member of Steering Committee of New Mobilization Committee.
Jack SPIEGEL	Co-Chairman Chicago Peace Council; Presi- dent United Shoe & Leather Workers of America.
Rev. Cecil WILLIAMS	Glide Memorial Church, San Francisco; Clergy & Laymen Concerned.
U.S.S.R.	
Dr. G. A. ARBATOV	Doctor of Economic Science; Director of Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.
Z. BABAKHANOV	Moslem Mufti for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.
A. S. BELIAKOV	Member of the Soviet Peace Committee Presi- dium.
Mrs. Y. K. BORISOVA	Actress, People's Artist of the Russian Federation.
V. S. YEMELIANOV	Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.
E. K. FYODOROV	Academician; Vice-Presi- dent of the Soviet Peace Committee; member of the Presidential Committee of the WPC.

J. FOLMANIS (Griva)	Writer; Chairman of the Peace Committee of the Latvian SSR.
K. V. GOVORUSHIN	Lathe Operator at the Kirov Plant in Leningrad; Hero of Socialist Labor.
G. A. ZHUKOV	Political observer of the newspaper "Pravda"; Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee; Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
V. N. KAVUN	Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Hero of Socialist Labour.
O. S. KHARKHARDIN	Public figure; Presidium Member of the Soviet Peace Committee.
V. M. KHVOSTOV	Academician; President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR.
V. P. KOMISSARENKO	Member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; Chairman of the Peace Committee of the Ukrainian SSR.
A. E. KORNEICHUK	Writer; Vice-President of the Soviet Peace Committee; Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet; member of the WPC Presidential Committee; holder of the Joliot-Curie Medal.
M. I. KOTOV	General Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Dr. A. G. MASSEVITCH	Doctor of Science; Deputy Chairman of the International Federation of Astronomers.
I. P. MELESH	Writer; Chairman of the Board of Belorussian Writers' Union.
N. V. MATKOVSKY	Professor; Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee.
The Rev. PIMEN	Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church.
P. T. PIMENOV	Secretary of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions.
B. N. POLEVOI	Writer; Chairman of the Soviet Peace Fund; Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.
N. E. POLYANOV	Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper "Izvestia"; Vice-President of the International Institute for Peace; member of the Presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee.
Mrs. N. V. POPOVA	Chairman of the Presidium of Associations for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.
R. I. ROZHDESTVENSKI	Poet.

V. M. TCHIKHVADZE	Director of the Institute of Law of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR; Vice-President of the Soviet Peace Committee.
Mrs. V. V. TERESHKOVA-NIKOLAYEVA	Cosmonaut; Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee.
N. S. TIKHONOV	Writer; Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee; Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
L. N. TOLKUNOV	Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper "Izvestia"; Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
Mizzo TURSUN-ZADE	Chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
N. M. VOSHCHININ	Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee; Secretary of the WPC.
VENEZUELA	
Jose Rafael GABALDON	General; publicist; holder of Joliot-Curie Medal; involved in Communist-front activities.
Carlos Augusto LEON	Poet; University Professor.
Jose del Carmen MARCANO Coello (Jose MARCANO)	Secretary of International Relations at the C.U.T.V. (United Workers' Federation of Venezuela.)

Dr. Ricardo MOLINA Marti

Surgeon; leading office-bearer of the Medical Association of Venezuela; General Secretary of the Peace Movement.

Dr. Cesar RONDON Lovera

Lawyer; Independent Deputy; member of the Executive Committee of the International Parliamentarians' Union.

Dr. Jose Vicente RANGEL

M.P.; writer; lawyer.

Pedro Jose TORESS Finol

Senator; First Vice-President of the Senate of the Republic; General Secretary of the Farmers' Federation of Venezuela; leader of the Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo (People's Election Movement).

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

PHAM HONG

Journalist; General Secretary of the DRV Peace Committee; active CP member.

Prof. PHAM HUY THONG

Head of the Institute of Archeology of the DRV; Vice-President of the DRV Peace Committee; active CP member.

TON DUC THANG

President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Patriotic Front, active CP member.

XUAN THUY

Minister; Vice-President
of the Vietnamese Peace
Committee; active CP
member.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM

Nguyen VAN HUI

Member of the Presidential
Committee of the WPC.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF SOUTH YEMEN

'Abdallah BA DHIB
('Abdalla BADLLB)

Minister; publicist;
unquestioned leader
of CP of South Yemen;
probably top native
Communist in Arab
Peninsula.

ZIMBABWE

Joshua NKOMO

ZAPU (Zimbabwe African
People's Union).

George NYANDORO

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